

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Program Accents Self-government

Theme of the 1951 National Conference on Government in Cincinnati November 26-28 will be "Strengthening Self-Government."

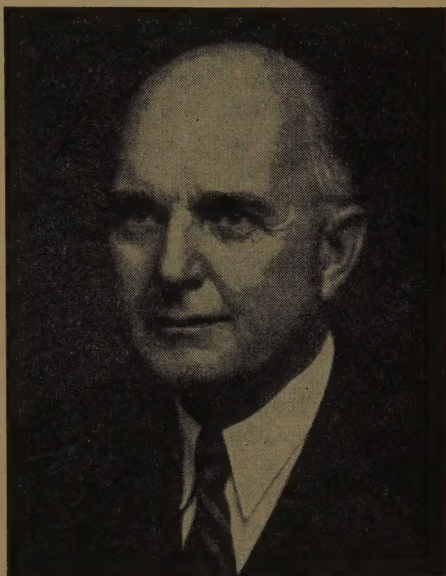
In approximately 25 sessions during the three-day meeting, some two hundred speakers from all parts of the country will relate experiences which have helped to improve citizen competence and bolster the widespread efforts which constitute a civic revival of unprecedented proportions.

League President Henry Bruère, banker and pioneer governmental researcher, will give the keynote address at the opening luncheon Monday at the Netherlands Plaza Hotel, Conference headquarters, with the co-sponsorship of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce.

The Conference will already have been hard at work before the "opening" luncheon on Monday. Five group sessions will be held Monday morning and a clinic on city charters and meetings of the National Association of Civic Secretaries will begin on Sunday.

In addition to the luncheons on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, other general sessions will be held Monday and Tuesday afternoons. The annual dinner will be Tuesday evening with the co-sponsorship of the League of Women Voters, and the annual meeting of League members at 5 P.M. Monday. The League's Council will hold its annual business meeting Monday evening.

Local arrangements are in charge of a committee headed by Mrs. Fred Larus, Jr., and composed of some 75 civic, business and educational leaders.



HENRY BRUERE
Conference Keynote Speaker

Laboratories for Citizenship

In recognition of the fact that what our self-governing system needs most is an informed, participating citizenry, the Conference program includes a session on civic education with J. J. Deisenroth of the Cincinnati Public Schools conducting a panel discussion on "Laboratories for Citizenship."

Dean Emery E. Olson, School of Public Administration, University of Southern California, will conduct a session on university programs of post-graduate and in-service training for state and local government officials and employees. Other sessions will feature

(Continued on page 479)

Problems of States to Be Stressed

Chief reason for holding the 1951 National Conference on Government in an Ohio city is that citizens of that state will vote in 1952 on the question of calling a constitutional convention.

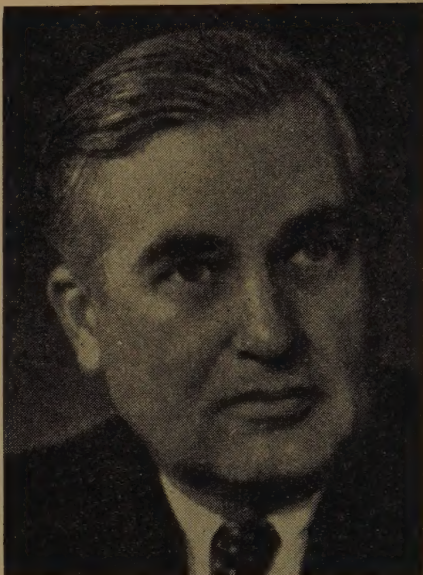
Since a similar question will be before the voters of Tennessee the same year and constitutional revision is an objective of civic groups in many other states, a number of Conference sessions will be devoted to state constitutions.

There will be morning group sessions on the governor and state administration, the state legislature and the courts, as well as one on direct legislation.

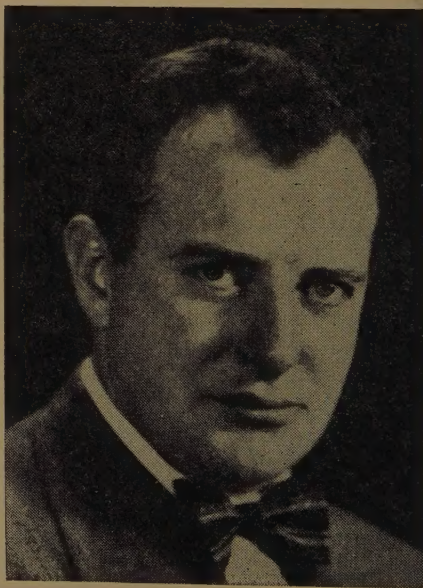
Charles Edison, chairman of the League's Council, former secretary of the Navy and former governor of New Jersey, will speak at the annual dinner Tuesday night on the long fight for a modern constitution in New Jersey which he launched in 1940.

At the closing luncheon Wednesday noon, James Kerney, Jr., editor of the *Trenton* (N. J.) *Times*, will speak on the citizen's part in constitutional revision and report on some of the benefits resulting from the new constitution in New Jersey. Mr. Kerney, a crusading editor, was a member of the Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution in 1942 and chairman of the New Jersey (Citizens) Committee for Constitutional Revision at the time of the successful 1947 campaign.

Mr. Kerney's speech will be a curtain raiser for a post-Conference meeting Wednesday afternoon under auspices of the Citizens Committee on the Ohio Constitution, of which Robert H. Rawson of Cleveland is chairman. Leaders of successful constitutional revision campaigns in Missouri, New Jersey and New York will speak and answer questions.



CHARLES EDISON
Dinner Speaker



JAMES KERNEY, JR.
Crusading Editor

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When Economy Is Not Economy

A YEAR ago the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW reported¹ the good news that Congress had passed, and the president approved, a new law providing for a "census of governments" in 1952 and each fifth year thereafter. The enactment presumably provided an improved statutory basis for periodic reporting of basic statistics on state and local governments—a vital information service regularly provided by the federal government since 1850.

In accordance with this law the federal budget this year included a proposal for funds to conduct such a census. To help prepare for this job the Census Bureau enlisted the advice of such recognized authorities as William Anderson, Frank Bane, Frederick L. Bird, Carl H. Chatters, Rowland Egger, Luther Gulick, Simeon E. Leland and Clarence E. Ridley. Associations of governments and public officials such as the Municipal Finance Officers Association, the National Association of Tax Administrators and the National Association of County Officials pledged their cooperation.

It now develops, however, that no funds have been provided to carry out this important task, which Congress explicitly authorized a year ago without a dissenting vote and on which much important preliminary work had been invested. The only reason given is in the comment by the House Appropriations Committee:

"In view of present world conditions and the amount of expenditures necessary for defense purposes, the

committee is of the opinion that there are many more urgent undertakings at this time and has therefore denied the budget estimate of \$2,250,000 for this purpose."

By rather similar reasoning, a business firm, hard put to keep up with current orders, might decide to "save money" by dispensing with its periodic inventory or with its auditing of accounts. Or, on such reasoning, Congress might eliminate the Budget Bureau or the General Accounting Office to free employees for work in federal defense agencies.

The unfortunate fact is that less basic statistical information is available about state and local governments than about any comparable segment of our economy. These governments provide a wide variety of vital services; their cost approaches one-tenth of the national income; they employ about one out of each fifteen persons gainfully occupied; they receive over two billion dollars a year from the federal government.² Yet the government, now and in recent years, has issued far more statistical information about literally scores of fields of industrial, commercial and agricultural activity than it has regarding state and local governments.

The most recent census of governments was for 1942. Limited figures available indicate that state and local governments have more than doubled their expenditures and have increased their indebtedness to an

¹See November 1950, page 508.

²See also "State and Local Government is Big Business," Editorial, the REVIEW, September 1951, page 396.

time high since then. But—unbelievable as it may seem—there is no official source of information for any of the past eight years as to the nationwide total of spending by local governments, nor as to comparative totals of state and local revenue, expenditure and debt. To find such totals for local governments by county one must go back twenty years to the census of governments for 1932.

As state and local officials and civic groups know only too well, the present period of chronic crisis and national preparedness greatly increases the problems and difficulties that confront state and local governments. Up-to-date information as to their status will surely not solve these problems. But the information that could be provided by a new census of governments should permit savings—through better public policies and administration at all levels—far exceeding the project's cost.

Our system is necessarily a complicated one. Complexity frustrates the citizen with the result that ultimate control slips farther and farther

from his hands. For this reason, a continuous flow of accurate up-to-date information about all our governments and their activities is the very breath of life to our democracy. With each passing year, the need for affirmative action by government to supply relevant information about itself becomes greater. The heavier the load imposed upon government, as in the present emergency, the greater the need.

Elimination of the appropriation for the census of governments is not a measure of economy but rather one of improvident extravagance. Neither is it a measure to reduce the federal establishment. Rather it will tend to expand it, because the less information there is available to citizens about state and local governments, the more they will be drawn as by gravity to dependence upon the central government. Any believer in real economy or in keeping as much as possible of the business of government at the state and local levels should insist upon adequate appropriation for the census of governments.

The People Want Home Rule

WHEN Rhode Island voters adopted in June by more than six to one a constitutional amendment to make home rule charters available to cities and towns, they simply confirmed what every politician knows: *the people like home rule.*

That knowledge, paradoxically, is precisely the reason why "professional" politicians have for years used every undercover trick to deny home rule to the people in all or most

of the municipalities of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Connecticut and numerous other states besides Rhode Island. Of course no politician is crazy enough to admit publicly that he is against home rule. That would be like Stalin admitting he was really opposed to communism. But the record shows that local officials who inveigh against "mandatory legislation" and "state interference" often

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The Governor Needs Staff

If chief state official is to carry the many increased burdens of his office, he must have more adequate help.

By HOMER E. SCACE*

"IT IS a lie to say that I didn't cooperate with the governor on budget matters. I arise in wrath because our record is being sullied." James B. Lowell, Connecticut's state commissioner of finance, shouted these words from the floor of the Connecticut legislative hall where a hearing was being held on the proposed reorganization of the state government.

A management consultant had just suggested that if the governor were to be held responsible for the program on which he had been elected he must have executive control over the budget. The consultant had found that the powers of the commissioner of finance in connection with the preparation and administration of the budget exceeded those of the governor. Mr. Lowell, an active member of the party opposite to the governor, had been appointed by a preceding governor for an overlapping term and could not be removed. The consultant had simply said such an arrangement was not conducive to cooperation in budget-making.

This dramatic episode shows how

*Mr. Scace, until recently with the Research Department of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, is director of the Department of Governmental Affairs with the Empire State Association of Commerce. He was formerly with the Institute of Public Administration (New York), where he made a study of "The Organization of the Executive Office of the Governor" (mimeographed, 65 pages).

deeply state officials, and others, feel about reorganization proposals. State reorganization plans often strike a snag because they are studied and proposed simply as administrative changes, ignoring the shifts in political and personal power involved. If the studies showed the actual day-to-day political-administrative relationships in the state, rather than the "paper" structure, others besides political insiders could appreciate the impact of reorganization moves and anticipate the source and intensity of resistance.

The typical governor gives the greatest share of his time to public and party leadership. He works most intensely and encounters his toughest problems in his contacts with the legislature. Administrative management of the state government is a poor third in commanding his time and energy.

The executive staff helps the governor do those things he himself would do if he had unlimited time and capabilities. Essentially, then, the staff aids the governor in his public and party contacts, in drawing up his program and selling it to the public and the legislature, and in exercising administrative control over the various agencies in the executive branch. Specifically, it has been found that it is helpful if the executive staff includes people for these jobs:

1. Certain public relations activities which affect public leadership,

party leadership and legislative relations;

2. Preparation of the governor's legislative and administrative program, including use of objective research and expert legal advice and review;

3. Preparation and presentation of the executive budget; executive control of expenditures;

4. Concern with the quality and performance of state personnel;

5. Administrative coordination and control.

Some General Guides

There is great diversity in the organization and duties of the staffs of the governors, caused by such factors as personality differences and differences in state political traditions as well as governmental size, services and structure. But there are basic similarities that suggest helpful guiding principles.

The governor must be able to staff his office with men loyal to him, responsive to his particular nature and capable of bolstering his weaknesses. The staff should form the governor's "team." That means it must be small, seldom more than five key men. The staff must be flexible. The governor should be able to appoint a man for a special job and drop him when it is completed. Furthermore, the men on the staff must be versatile, for the governor will want to use them on a variety of problems as urgency demands. So far as possible, these staff aides, including the budget officer, should be free from direct administrative duties.

In this discussion duties are some-

what rigidly compartmentalized for the sake of clarity. In actual practice, the budget officer, for instance, may advise on public relations, as in Oregon, or research may be carried out under the executive secretary, as in Texas.

Every governor but one has an executive secretary whom he appoints and can remove. This man is usually personally loyal to the governor and has a wide political acquaintance. He acts as a buffer between the governor and the public, supervising handling of correspondence and complaints, and often keeps the file of appointments to be made and the names of likely appointees. In states where there is a rift between the governor and other top men in his political party, the governor's ability to obtain independent information on political appointees' records is particularly important. It is significant that this virtually universal staff arrangement is in the field of practical political power—a field in which nearly every governor, past and present, has recognized the need for facts at the time a decision is to be made.

Until recent years, it was not unusual to find a governor's public statements being prepared and issued at party headquarters with the help of men paid by the party. Public relations men on the party payroll are sometimes faced with the problem of whether to be loyal and responsive to the party officials or to the governor. Today, many governors have public relations men on their official staffs. In California, the governor's press secretary is responsible for public relations work,

press relations, radio arrangements, public proclamations, statements and articles and recommendations regarding acceptance of invitations for speeches and public appearances. Similar positions may be found in Connecticut, Michigan, Pennsylvania and, with slightly different arrangements, in New York, New Jersey and other states.

Including these activities in the governmental structure changes relations between the governor and political leaders in ways not always easy to trace. But observation seems to indicate that the elected governor, properly staffed, tends to become the actual head of the party.

Legislative Aides

Since many governors list legislative relations as their most vexing problem, it is not surprising to find that a good many have made a staff position for a legislative aide not only in large states such as California and Michigan but also in smaller states such as Arkansas where this work is combined with that of the governor's legal counsel.

The strongest resistance to staffing the governor effectively is usually found in the legislature. Some legislators sincerely fear the creation of a "steamroller" in the executive office against which they will be virtually powerless. Where there is a tradition of legislative confirmation of appointments, denial of that prerogative in connection with important posts is not lightly agreed to.

Legislative fear of the executive is often based on such matters as the traditional workings of the patronage system, as in West Virginia and in Oklahoma, or on the lack of

control which biennial sessions of limited length give. The key to the maintenance of legislative power, however, lies not in depriving the executive of sorely needed aid but in strengthening the legislative process through higher salaries for legislators, annual sessions and adequately staffing the legislative council, the legislative auditor and the joint finance committee.

The governor, in setting up the program for which his administration will be remembered, wants to base his policy decisions on the best facts he can gather. He may turn to the departments for suggestions and for help on technical details of a program, but departments usually are helpful only in their special fields and their viewpoint can be narrow. For programs which deal with such problems as veterans' demands, benefits for the aged, housing, cash sickness benefits or new taxes, the governor cannot usually depend on the departments. He may establish his policy after talking with party leaders and his wide circle of friends. He often depends for advice on technical details on the special interest group involved.

Lack of systematic study of impending problems has often led a governor to move from crisis to crisis, making decisions with conscientious good faith but with too little time to check into basic facts. Sometimes a good alternative to a suggested course of action will crop up later to embarrass the governor; sometimes a whole problem area will be missed by the governor and exploited successfully by the opposition party.

This situation has led governors to include research in staff assignments in states such as Massachusetts, New York and Texas. Governors seem to have an increasing willingness to consult academically trained research men on university bureau staffs, as in New Jersey, or at the head of the legislative research staff, as in Kansas and Nebraska.

But placing an academically trained research man on the governor's staff is not common.

The Budget Problem

Because budgeting involves the financial implementation of the governor's program and provides certain controls in the administration of the executive branch of the government, it is particularly important that the governor have organizational control over it. Some 40 states subscribe to the principle of the executive budget.

In small states it is possible to place the entire budgeting function in the governor's office without doing undue violence to the principle of a compact staff. In the larger states most of the major departments are of sufficient size to contain within themselves a budget division. The central budget division may then be, as in New York, in the executive office of the governor. More common is the arrangement, as in New Jersey, of placing in the department of finance a budget and accounting division with a director appointed by the governor. In Connecticut, the proposal was to place a budget officer on the governor's staff and place the routine accounting and detail work in the department of finance. The proposal emphasizes the budget

officer as the top level budget advisor to the governor and relieves him almost completely of the administrative routine involved in budget preparation and execution. The budget officer would be appointed by the governor, would serve at his pleasure, and would be in direct contact with him.

Although the principle of the executive budget is widely supported, so powerful is the right to prepare and administer a budget that there is a marked reluctance on the part of legislatures and interest groups to put the principle into actual operation. In Wisconsin the director of the budget is appointed for a fixed term with the confirmation of the Senate and cannot be removed without senatorial concurrence. (The governor has added a financial secretary to his staff to help with budget preparation.) In New Jersey also, the governor appoints the budget officer with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Dedicated funds are favored by special interests seeking to keep education, highways or game "out of politics." This prevents the governor (and the legislature) from carefully weighing each year the need for the service against all the other needs requiring state money.

The administration of the budget has considerable effect on the governor's relations with operating department heads whether they are his appointees or not.

Considering the pervasive influence of the policy decisions made in preparing a budget and of the administrative decisions made in its execution, does it make sense to have

a comprehensive executive budget—an idea widely accepted and generally approved—and have “independent” boards and elected department heads, as many states do? To state the question indicates the degree to which proposals to strengthen the executive budgeting process are political as well as administrative in nature.

Personnel Relations

The governor cannot be responsible for the cost and quality of state services and be isolated from personnel policy, which so greatly affects the productivity of public employees. For instance, if the governor should believe that good personnel relations call for the development of the employee as an individual and the promotion among state employees of the will to cooperate, he should have directly available to him such experienced and competent help as is necessary to work out and put into effect the practical steps by which these ideals may become operative.

Among states having civil service for only part of their employees, Arkansas has placed the personnel function in the governor's office. Utah, Idaho and New Mexico, similarly with only limited civil service coverage, have placed most of the personnel function in the operating departments. In Oklahoma, some of the bitterest fights between the governor and the legislature have been over the extent to which the personnel function should be lodged in the governor's office. In states not having a merit system, political tradition can effectively keep the governor from carrying out any constructive personnel policy.

In the twenty states having civil service, the department of civil service performs the routine functions of recruitment, testing, position classification, etc. In such states a personnel officer in the governor's office would make recommendations for a constructive, progressive personnel program based on factual research, and conduct post-audits, at irregular intervals, of civil service practices and procedures.

This would be a new field for many governors who, under present laws, do not regard themselves as primarily responsible for personnel policy. An experienced, competent staff man can make the governor a more potent force in personnel relations, but such a development involves delicate political and personal adjustments. A personnel man on the governor's staff needs to explore carefully the relations between his boss and the civil service commission, for example. And civil servants themselves tend to be defensive where efforts are made to change past relationship patterns in the personnel field.

While forming his program, the governor needs to have immediately available to him expert and creative legal advice on what he can do within present statutes and the nature of new laws necessary to permit him to accomplish his aims. When the necessary bills are finally drawn, he must have some reliable check against undesirable loopholes. In tax laws, for example, obscure word changes may determine who pays and in what amount. In New York the governor has a general counsel attached to his office. In New Jersey, through a

slightly different organizational arrangement, the same end is accomplished; the governor has legal advice during policy formulation from men accountable and loyal to him. In Michigan the governor has a legal advisor on his staff. In Illinois two administrative assistants perform this function along with other duties.

It is not always easy to tell from whom the governor seeks legal advice. Very often it is from outside the government structure. But the governor must remember that outside lawyers are bound to have loyalties and concerns which are not the same as his.

Cabinet vs. Staff

Realizing the multitude and difficulty of the problems that beset him, the governor sometimes thinks in terms of convening his department heads as a cabinet to provide him with advice on policies and to promote coordination. If these two functions can be performed more effectively through a well staffed executive office, the cabinet device may not seem so attractive. There is an essential difference in the qualities that a governor may look for when he appoints a man to his "cabinet" and when he appoints a man competent to administer a department engaged in a complex, perhaps technical, public service. The cabinet member is expected to give high-level political advice, to have some acquaintance with his department and to leave his post when a new governor is elected. The ideal department administrator should know his department intimately and run it according to the policies set forth by the elected head of the state

government. He may remain at his post through several changes of administration unless there is a clear-cut difference of opinion between him and the governor. Consideration should be given to the possibility of a fundamental change in the attitude of the governor in selecting his department heads if the executive staff proves its effectiveness in meeting his needs.

Reorganization of state governments in the United States has aimed, in part, at concentration of authority and responsibility in the governor's chair and coordination of the staff services of administration there. The new governor sets the pace of leadership in policy formulation as well as in administration of the state government. His position as head of the party has been strengthened. The public has been taught by the reorganization movements to look to the governor to dramatize the objectives of the state government, to personalize state government actions, and to give character to the state machinery.

The office has attracted a new type of man. This "new governor" interprets and explains state government plans and activities in over a hundred major speeches a year. He holds press conferences, sometimes almost daily over periods of many weeks. He has personal appointments with from 15 to 25 persons a day. Over 500 telephone calls may reach him a week and two to four hours a day may be devoted to urgent correspondence. In the midst of these hectic, vital, public relations activities, the new governor creates state

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Ohio Legislators Get Help

Set up eight years ago, the state's Program Commission has proved worth in both law-making and administration.

By LAUREN A. GLOSSER*

IN THE past half century the role of state government has expanded into a multiplicity of functions extending into all phases of our complex social and economic life. State legislatures, which define the policies of state government, are required to project their judgments into many highly technical fields. But it is impossible for legislators to become thoroughly informed on the wide variety of matters presented to them for action.

In the absence of independent and impartial sources of information, the legislator's principal knowledge comes from advocates or opponents of particular legislative proposals. The legislature, besieged by hundreds of bills and resolutions, has neither the time nor opportunity for extensive research and study. It is not prepared to plan complete programs in such fields as school subsidies, highways and welfare. Consequently, programs are often of a piecemeal, unintegrated design.

State legislatures have created several different types of agencies to aid them. These agencies all have the same general purpose, to conduct studies, gather information and make recommendations in regard to prob-

lems of state government. Their functions are performed between legislative sessions and the data and recommendations are submitted for the use of succeeding legislatures.

The most common type of agency is the legislative council or legislative research commission, a continuing body made up of legislative members, which may study any problem presented to it. Another type is the *ad hoc* or temporary commission, created to study a single specific problem, which expires when the study is completed. The latter may or may not include private citizens and administrative officials in addition to legislative members.

The General Assembly of Ohio has created the Ohio Program Commission, which is designed to combine the advantages of the other two types by providing the continuity of the legislative council and by including administrative officials and private citizens in its study groups as in the *ad hoc* commission.

The Program Commission is composed of the president and president pro tempore of the Senate, the speaker of the House of Representatives, five other members of each house, five directors of administrative departments and three members appointed by the governor.

The commission may study any problem which confronts the state, either upon its own initiative or by request of the governor or the General Assembly.

*Mr. Glosser has been executive secretary of the Ohio Program Commission since 1949 when it was set up as a permanent agency. Previously he served on the administrative staff of the Ohio legislature and as executive of the Ohio Public Welfare Department.

Requests for studies submitted by the governor or the General Assembly have been considered as mandates by the commission. However, suggestions for studies have been made by various private agencies and these are screened by the commission. Only a few emergency study assignments have been received from the General Assembly during legislative sessions.

Committees for Research

A separate committee is created for each study. These committees ordinarily include only a few members of the commission, a substantial number of legislators, representatives of the administrative department responsible for the function being studied, several technical experts from the universities and a great number of private citizens who are particularly interested or experienced in the field of inquiry. The commission does not direct the committees other than to define the scope of the study. It does, however, review their reports and may modify, accept or reject their recommendations before they are submitted to the General Assembly and the governor.

Representation of state departments on a committee affords a background of administrative experience and provides sound evaluations of how proposed recommendations may work in actual execution.

The contribution of private citizens has been of incalculable value. Motivated by a sense of public service, hundreds of eminent and able citizens have accepted assignments. They have provided, without compensation, technical, professional and general knowledge of an inestimable

monetary value. Former governors, nationally known scientists and other experts, outstanding attorneys and jurists, eminent physicians and industrialists and men and women of ability from every walk of life have willingly contributed their time and capacities to the betterment of state government by service on these committees.

The prestige of such citizen members has facilitated the acceptance of recommendations by the public and by administrative and legislative representatives. The active devotion to democratic government manifested by such citizen service is a most hopeful and encouraging indication that democratic institutions will endure.

The various elements of these committees—legislative, administrative and citizen representatives—have worked in a spirit of harmony and close cooperation. Legislators have been glad to receive administrative advice and citizen viewpoints on public problems. Administrators have welcomed this opportunity of presenting problems for legislative consideration. Citizen members have willingly learned and accepted the administrative and political considerations inherent in public problems.

The regular administrative staff of the commission is small considering the large number of committees engaged in studies. It consists of an executive secretary, a technical advisor and two secretaries. The commission is able to operate with such a small staff only because most of the research work of the committees is conducted by administrative departments, the Ohio State Univer-

sity and private agencies. During the past biennium such groups as the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, Ohio Chamber of Commerce, Ohio Educational Association, Ohio Public Expenditure Council and the Ohio Council on Health and Welfare have contributed substantially in matters of research and statistical data.

Accomplishments Noteworthy

While the Ohio Program Commission has existed as a state study and planning agency for only eight years, it has attacked the problems of state government along a broad front, including highways, schools, welfare, conservation and the development of a building code. A number of its programs and recommendations have been enacted into law. Others remain as a pattern for future development. As a newspaper reporter reviewing the work of the commission stated, "Accomplishments are noteworthy and blue prints of tomorrow are taking shape. Its biennial report is a format of the future. Some time, somehow, you seem to sense, a large part of it will find its way into law."

All conservation functions of the state, which had been divided among a number of independent agencies, were unified in 1948 under a single Department of Natural Resources as a result of the efforts of the Program Commission. The unification was first proposed by the commission in 1944 but it required sponsoring by several succeeding commissions before it was finally enacted. In 1949-50 the commission studied the operations of the new department and, as a result, extensive remedial amendments, suggested

by administrative experience, were approved by the legislature in 1951.

The state's role in the public school system was studied in 1950. The committee lacked the time to conduct a thorough study of the program of state subsidies to public schools, now amounting to more than a hundred million dollars annually, but it strongly recommended that the commission conduct an extensive review of the program this biennium, with adequate research to substantiate its conclusions. The Schools Committee recommended—and the legislature enacted—amendments to the school building code which will save school districts between five and ten million dollars in the school building program for the next biennium.

The commission is also preparing a revision of the building code of the state which will effect similar economies in private construction and public buildings. This project is expected to require another eighteen months to complete.

An engineering survey of every road, street and highway in Ohio was conducted under the auspices of the Program Commission by the Automotive Safety Foundation. For the first time the state now has comprehensive data on its highway needs, along with recommendations as to the classification, planning and management of the highway system. A fiscal study was also made to determine the most practicable methods of raising revenues for highway needs and to recommend the proper allocation of revenues among the various jurisdictions on the basis of need. It is generally accepted that a

highway program is necessary and will eventually be enacted in Ohio. Whatever program is ultimately adopted will be predicated in a substantial measure upon the information developed by these studies.

The state's penal administration has been studied by three separate committees of the commission in successive bienniums. Many of their recommendations have been put into effect either through new laws or by administrative action. A minimum security type reformatory has been established. A special unit for the care and study of psychopathic offenders is being created. The Bureau of Examinations and Classifications has been organized and a director has been appointed to supervise the Division of Corrections. The 1949-50 penal study described a complete program of the institutional, organizational and personnel needs required for the proper classification, segregation and rehabilitation of prisoners.

In 1945 the commission recommended a \$25,000,000 building appropriation for mental institutions. Between 1945 and 1950 the General Assembly appropriated in excess of \$50,000,000 for capital improvements in state mental institutions. In 1947 the Program Commission recommended acquisition by the state of the army hospital at Cambridge, Ohio. It was subsequently acquired and is now serving as one of the largest and best of the state mental institutions. In 1950 the commission made a number of recommendations regarding mental hygiene administration in the matters of laws, out-patient clinics, per-

sonnel training, facilities and charges for care of patients.

In addition to the school building code and the conservation amendments mentioned above, the General Assembly enacted a number of laws in 1950 on recommendation of the commission or its committees. The authority and the assessments—the commission is supported by assessments made on public utilities—of the Public Utilities Commission were increased to improve rural telephone service. Agricultural research and education were expanded and improved by increased appropriations. Truck license fees were increased, compulsory motor vehicle accident reporting was required, and the number of state highway patrolmen increased. Civil defense functions were supported by an appropriation and provision was made for an Ohio Defense Corps to succeed the National Guard should it be called into federal service.

Salaries of the governor and other officials were increased to make state service more attractive to competent persons. The renting of state office space was consolidated in one agency to promote economy and efficiency. The school building program was aided by an appropriation and by authority to issue bonds for such purpose.

Constitutional Revision

The commission is continuing a Committee on the Organization of the Executive Branch of State Government. This committee has submitted reports on the terms and salaries of elected state officials, fiscal administration and personnel administration. It is expected to

cover the other fields of state government during the coming biennium.

In November 1952, the people of Ohio will vote on the question, "Shall there be a convention to revise, alter or amend the constitution?" This question is presented each twenty years by provision of the constitution. If a majority voting on the proposition is in favor of a convention, the General Assembly must provide, at its next regular session, for the election of delegates and the assembling of such a convention. In 1949 the commission created a committee to focus public attention on the question and it will continue such a committee for the next biennium to promote public interest and furnish information on this important issue.

During the past two years the committee has held public hearings in several cities on the advisability of a constitutional convention and it is contemplated that these meetings will be extended to cover other areas. Publications have been prepared and issued by the commission for use in the consideration of constitutional questions. A short history of the development and content of the constitution, *Ohio's Constitution in the*

Making, was compiled by the secretary of the commission. Thousands of copies have been issued to discussion groups and civic organizations and many schools have used it. The commission also published *Constitutional Revision in the States of the Union*, *Alternatives to a Constitutional Convention* and *A Statement Against a Constitutional Convention*.

Agency Fills a Need

The Ohio Program Commission has afforded a medium through which legislators, administrators and interested citizens can collaborate in an unhurried and considered approach to the problems facing the state government. These committees are free of the pressures incident to the legislative session. They have ample time to give a thorough consideration and to gather necessary information on matters within their purview. The recommendations proposed by these studies are being translated, year by year, into legislative enactments and administrative practice. The Ohio Program Commission is now recognized as filling a real need as an advisory agency in the formulation of public policy for the state.

The 'Third' House in Indiana

Lobbyists for pressure groups, outnumbering members of legislature, strive to impose their programs on state.

By MELVIN PIERCE*

ALL visitors to the Indiana State House during the 1951 legislative session were introduced to the term "third house." Midway between the House and Senate chambers stood a table bearing the sign:

**Special Service and General
Information for Hobbyists, Lobbyists
and Members
of the Third House
Checking, Cleaning and Pressing
2 Hour or One Day Service**

This widely recognized third house is the extra-legal—and occasionally illegal—group of men and women, usually representing a particular interest group, who exert pressure upon the legislators. These lobbyists have become an integral part of the American system of representation.

Lobbyists and pressure groups have become such an important segment of our political process that the problem is not now one of whether pressure groups are desirable or undesirable but rather of determining how they can best be controlled and utilized in the public interest.

It is in the third house that the bulk of legislation is germinated and carefully cultivated. Pressure politics has become such a vital part of the American political system that it must be examined in detail if we are to achieve an understanding of the workings of government.

*Mr. Pierce, formerly research assistant in the Bureau of Government Research of Indiana University, is with the Bureau of the Census.

In Indiana there were 93 groups which registered 180 lobbyists for the 1951 session—a little more than one lobbyist for each legislator. An analysis of registrations during the 1949 and 1951 sessions reveals:

	1949	1951
Organizations with registered representatives	82	93
Individuals representing themselves	2	4
Total	84	97

GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Labor	74	28
Businesses or business organization	33	30
Women	14	7
Professional	10	16
Taxpayers and real estate ..	9	9
Teachers and other school ..	9	7
Farm and cooperative	7	3
Veterans	2	9
Miscellaneous	33	71
Total	191	180

This picture is at best misleading since it is not clear just what constitutes a lobbyist under Indiana law. A person is not required to register unless he receives pay for his lobbying services. This provision, along with the decision of the attorney general that a person who receives no extra compensation for lobbying for his regular employer is not subject to registration, has enveloped the law with a nebulous haze. For instance, during the 1951 session, a front page story in the

Indianapolis *Times* criticized Jim Nicholas, secretary of the Indiana Motor Truck Association, for not registering. Asked why he wasn't, Mr. Nicholas, who had registered at previous sessions, said:

Two years ago, all the other lobbyists gave me a ribbing for registering. They said it wasn't necessary because there is a provision in the lobbyist law which says you must receive extra compensation for lobbying. Well, I don't get anything extra for coming over here. And I don't see why I should register. Maybe I should register. I don't know.

It has been estimated that, if the law were strictly construed and strictly abided by, the number of registered lobbyists would be tripled. Many people who should register fail to do so. Conversely, a few people who are not legally required to register do so anyway.

Labor union lobbyists are registered in full force largely because they fear exposure if they fail to register. Some of these men could rightly claim that lobbying is incidental to their regular employment, that they receive no extra compensation for it and therefore do not have to register. They feel they have more to lose by not registering, however.

Categorizing the number of registered lobbyists is further complicated by the fact that organizations which appear to be logically grouped together may have entirely different, or even violently opposing, interests. This is demonstrated by an examination of the conflicts between the lobbyists for the Congress of Industrial Organizations and those for the American Federation of Labor.

It would hardly be disputed that the Indiana Farm Bureau is one of the more important influences on the legislature. The large membership of the bureau provides a good source of revenue as well as potential bargaining power. The membership of almost 100,000 (for 1951) pays dues of \$10 a year, of which \$3.25 is retained by the state office for operating expenses. Following the legislative session, Farm Bureau lobbyists tour the state to acquaint members with the activities of the legislature. Mr. Thomas, leader of the Farm Bureau lobby, and his assistants attend local meetings and discuss measures of interest to the farmer and answer questions.

No More Entertaining

Lavish parties have proved costly and are considered unnecessary by the Farm Bureau lobbyists. The bureau formerly had a dinner for the farm bloc in the legislature but some of the legislators felt slighted. This resulted in the bureau inviting all legislators to a dinner. The invitation was then extended to families of the legislators. This became so expensive the entire procedure was dropped. The Farm Bureau lobby now feels it has considerable support and can exert sufficient influence simply by explaining its views to the legislators.

The Farm Bureau also wields influence without the open knowledge of the legislators and many of the other lobbies by informal agreements with other organizations. During the session one particular group was often referred to by those few aware of its existence as the "unholy alliance." It consisted of

lobbyists from the Farm Bureau, real estate, office managers, tax and other groups. A fund was established for expenses incidental to certain legislation inimical to all concerned.

Lobbies Cooperate

The cooperative aspect of lobbying is evident in another field. The Farm Bureau Corporation is the agency outlet for Farm Bureau insurance companies which supply the farmers with full insurance coverage. The Farm Bureau therefore has a working agreement with various insurance lobbies. Insurance companies supply legal and technical information pertaining to the insurance aspect of legislation. They study proposed bills and determine how they will affect member companies. They also write and otherwise sponsor legislation favorable to the insurance business. The Farm Bureau, on the other hand, supplies the needed legislative votes to pass or defeat the agreed upon insurance legislation. Occasionally the Farm Bureau lobby finds itself at odds with some of the insurance lobbyists, but for the most part it feels that what is good for the large insurance companies is good for the Farm Bureau.

In the 1951 session there were 68 bills affecting insurance companies. Bills which were objected to by the large, organized concerns failed to pass. An interested lobbyist said, "The greater part of the 68 bills which would have affected insurance were successfully held in committee and perished with the end of the session."

Although much of the activity of the insurance lobby is directed toward preventing passage of certain

legislation, numerous laws favorable to insurance companies have passed the Indiana General Assembly. As an example, in the 1949 session casualty insurance companies were allowed to invest 10 per cent of their reserves in real estate. In 1951 this privilege was extended to life insurance companies.

Several years ago the Indiana legislature stipulated that the Highway Department was to keep a file on every person in Indiana who caused an accident by committing a traffic violation. As this information was of value to insurance firms, the cost of this procedure, about \$400,000 annually, was to be borne by the insurance companies. In 1949, these companies successfully lobbied for legislation requiring the violator to pay \$1.75 in addition to the usual fine, to be set aside to help pay for compiling the information. This raised approximately \$200,000, saving the insurance companies a considerable amount of money. In the 1951 session the insurance lobby persuaded the legislature to require that this fee be collected in the so-called "cafeteria courts" in Indianapolis, Hammond and Evansville as well as in other courts.

Smaller organizations interested in lobbying must rely upon different techniques. For instance, the trucking lobby and its adversary, the railroad lobby, resort to greater expenditures for entertainment and propaganda purposes than most of the large organizations. Both groups publish a good deal of material in an attempt to convince the public, legislators and at times, perhaps, themselves, of the virtues of their

program and the vices of the programs of their opponents. The truckers publish *Are You Interested in the Truth?* The railroad lobby, not to be outdone, distributes *The Highway Transportation Story . . . In Facts.*

Opposing Lobbies

Two other lobbying groups in conflict are the Indiana County Commissioners Association and the Indiana Petroleum Industries Committee. The former is composed of about 60 per cent of the county commissioners—200 to 225 members—and is supported largely by associated memberships. Highway contractors, material and equipment interests, and others who would benefit from highway construction, openly support the association, which publishes a directory in which these interests advertise.

In the 1951 session the association was concerned mainly with a two-cent increase in the gasoline tax, repeal of the law forbidding use of property tax funds for the improvement of county highways, and repeal of the law forbidding use of borrowed funds for the improvement of county highways. Published material was supplied to legislators and interested groups and upon two occasions legislators were visited by large numbers of county commissioners in an attempt to persuade them to enact the desired legislation. The association failed to achieve any degree of success, however, whereas the Indiana Petroleum Industries Committee, representing fifteen major petroleum companies and opposing the commissioners, claimed complete success.

In the 1951 session the Indiana

Trustees Association, composed of most of the trustees from the state's 1012 townships and closely allied to the School Bus Drivers' Association, supported a bill which would have aided townships to borrow in order to enlarge or construct school buildings. It also would have given the state superintendent \$100,000 of state funds to run a two-year survey of the needs for school reorganization and new buildings. It was generally conceded that this bill would have placed a brake on the school consolidations which are presently being planned.

The Indiana State Teachers Association, on the other hand, favored an alternate bill for new school construction with state assistance. This would have encouraged greater consolidation in line with the program of the teachers association which advocated larger school units in the interests of "better and more economical schools." The teachers association also feared that the provisions for a study committee were designed to counteract the recommendations already made by the Indiana School Study Committee, an unofficial body sponsored by the teachers association.

Among the tactics used was an "invasion" of the General Assembly by hundreds of trustees and bus drivers. The teachers association counter-attacked by sending thousands of telegrams to legislators from people "back home."

When it became evident that neither group could get its bill enacted certain legislators, as well as representatives of a few lobbying groups, intervened and a compro-

mise bill was finally passed. It created an Indiana State School Building Authority composed of the governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and state superintendent of public instruction. It gives the authority corporate status and permits it to buy, lease and hold school sites and buildings by issuance of bonds and to lease buildings to school corporations.

It should not be implied that particular lobbying groups are always opposed to one another. Rather, a fluid situation exists. Groups, or combinations of groups, may work together at one time and be opposed at another. Several groups may get together and gang up on one.

Interesting features of lobbying groups are the organizations they form to advance segments of their interests. Groups which may have sharply conflicting interests in one area band together in another. For instance, the Indiana State Industrial Union Council, the Federation of Labor and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, along with fourteen other groups, are members of the Indiana Merit System Association.

Almost every lobbying group of any significance belongs to one or more larger groups. Such a situation results in greater complexity and greater confusion for the legislator. It becomes a problem not only of discovering which interests are behind which organizations, but also which organizations are behind which larger organizations.

Gambling Lobby

The gambling interests add to the confusion. Representative Thomas C. Hasbrook of Marion County at-

tempted to expose the influence behind the gambling lobby in the 1951 session. He issued a statement to the press that he believed the rumor that a Muncie man was at the legislature with a "suitcase full of money" while the anti-gambling bill was being considered. In a confidential report he says:

The minutes of the Senate Public Policy Committee for the '51 session of the assembly will show that a Muncie man testified against the lottery bill. This man indicated that about 400 people were employed in the pool and lottery and punchboard manufacturing business in Muncie.

Another report by Representative Hasbrook comments:

I was informed by a Mr. J. that I was wrong about the suitcase full of money coming from Muncie. This man said that the Muncie money ran out early in the session and that the funds finally came from Chicago. This man further said that according to his information this was the biggest pay-off chest in years. He specifically mentioned the name of a representative who he said was paid but could describe no circumstances.

An anonymous lady phone caller told me about two State House employees who she said were doing part of the dirty work against House Bill 128 [the anti-gambling bill introduced by Representative Hasbrook]. One of these ladies was supposed to have been brought in after 128 came out of committee in the House when it seemed as if the bill was gaining momentum. Reputedly she was the contact between the legislators and the gamblers. . . .

Representative Hasbrook's anti-gambling bill, which never came out of conference committee, would have

set up the state attorney general as a statewide crime commissioner with sweeping powers. It passed the House with only three dissenting votes but when it reached the Senate bedlam broke loose. The bill was amended several times in an obvious attempt to destroy it. After great controversy on the Senate floor it was sent to a conference committee. Representative Hasbrook, a blinded veteran of World War II, tells of an incident which occurred at a meeting of this committee.

Our meeting, which was closed, started by my placing the original copy of the bill in the middle of the table. No concessions would be made by [Senator] Conrad and [Representative] Churilla but they did want to talk to the attorney general. We started in a body for the attorney general's office.

As we were leaving the committee room, I remembered I did not have the bill. . . . I told Miss Cooper, my secretary, to see who had the bill. . . . She told me that Churilla had the bill. . . . When we stopped at the elevator, Miss Cooper said that she didn't think Churilla had the bill any longer. I immediately said, "Churilla, have you got the bill?" He said, "Sure," and pushed some folded papers up against my hand. Miss Cooper looked them over and said, "That's not the original copy of the bill which you had in the meeting. I saw Mr. Churilla hand something to that man standing over against the wall."

Senator Anness, hearing this, ran over to the man Miss Cooper pointed out and grabbed the original copy of the bill out of his hand without resistance. . . . Miss Cooper and Senator Anness tried to identify the man to whom the bill was handed but could not do so.

Following the 1951 session Representative Hasbrook has spent a good deal of time uncovering material and giving lectures on the sordid aspects of legislating. He is a newcomer to the state legislature and is appalled by the activities of the gambling lobby and other corrupt practices which occurred during the past session.

Lobbyists Are Realists

This short review of the habits and coloration of the species *Lobbyiensis* is no more than a profile study. Suffice it to say, there are big lobbies, little lobbies, good lobbies and bad lobbies, successful lobbies and not-so-successful lobbies. Their organization and techniques vary but all have one thing in common. When the General Assembly meets, the lobbies, each professing to represent the interests of the public or a segment of the public, swarm to the State House as to the feast of Scheherazade, each intent upon converting into public policy what each advocates as a private policy.

Lobbyists as a species are complete realists, believing firmly in the first law of nature, the survival of the fittest, with survival meaning public ratification of the lobbyist's program. The lobbies follow, in general, a policy of expediency, using those techniques of persuasion and, on occasion, intimidation which will most likely crown their efforts with success. The numerous alliances, cross alliances, balances of power and marriages of convenience occurring between lobbying groups have only the sanction of mutual advantage to justify them.

Upon the hapless legislator, then,

has placed the great responsibility of somehow, virtually unaided by an objective source of information, creating legislation which will be in the interests of the general welfare. The fact that some constructive legislation does emerge from the 61 days of labor each biennium is one of the great continuing miracles of nature.

THE GOVERNOR NEEDS STAFF

(Continued from page 467)

policies on pressing issues for the consideration of the public and the legislature, makes major budgeting decisions and worries about the morale and activities of the thousands of public officials and employees for whose actions he must answer. The new governor may put in a carefully scheduled 55- to 60-hour week of high tempo activity and leave undone much of what is expected of him.

Although state government reorganizations have almost invariably increased the responsibilities and duties of the governor, they have seldom provided him with the kind of help most useful to him in meeting the demands of his new position. Under these circumstances, the check imposed on the new governor by limitations of his personal time and strength has rivaled the traditional check on the activities of the strong executive—the considered judgment of a hard-working legislature and the expressed interest of an informed electorate. In transforming the governor from figurehead to leader, did the reorganizers hope to find an “armless wonder”?

Through actual experience, governors are finding much needed additional eyes and arms in the small special staff. The governor's “team” requires men who are versatile, talented and personally loyal. The pattern of their duties is fairly definite but the organization of their duties must be flexible.

Even this relatively simple adjustment in a state's organizational structure alters intricate political and administrative relationships. It is important to remember that it involves politics as well as administration.

LABORATORIES FOR CITIZENSHIP

(Continued from page 457)

the activities of voluntary civic research and action organizations. One, in cooperation with the National Association of Civic Secretaries, will discuss methods of civic organizations used to inform the public about candidates for public office.

One Conference session will feature outstanding city managers who will discuss the work of the manager and his relations with the mayor, city council and public.

Another afternoon session will bring together a group of representative business and industrial leaders under the chairmanship of League president Henry Bruère to discuss the businessman's stake in and responsibility for good government. Charles Edison, chairman of the board of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., will open the discussion.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

States and Cities Further Civil Defense

Congress Criticized for Cuts in Proposed Appropriations

DESPITE the discouraging effect of drastic cuts by Congress in administration requests for civil defense appropriations, states and cities are taking steps to cooperate with one another and to provide limited means for minimizing disaster from possible enemy attacks.

Federal appropriations for civil defense in the last fiscal year totaled \$31,800,000. For fiscal 1952 the budget request was \$535,000,000. Late in August the House Appropriations Committee recommended \$65,255,000—a cut of 88 per cent—and the House accepted the recommendation. Senate action remained to be taken.

Of the \$535,000,000 budget request, \$250,000,000 was for construction of shelters on a 50 per cent matching basis. The House committee allowed nothing for this. An additional \$45,000,000 was for matching expenditures by local governments for attack warning systems, communications, fire-fighting services, warden service, rescue service, medical supplies and equipment, and training and education. The committee allowed \$4,500,000. Emergency supplies and equipment came to \$200,000,000, without matching. The committee allowed \$50,000,000, for medical purposes only.

The House action caused vigorous criticism by municipal representatives. The Washington *Newsletter* of the American Municipal Association said:

"The whole attitude of the committee is difficult to understand or to rationalize. It evidences a shocking

disregard, for the safety of the American people, a completely unrealistic concept of national defense and of the responsibilities and the fiscal capacity of local governments, and a nonchalant refusal to use even elementary logic. While refusing to appropriate a relative pittance for civil defense, this same committee approved billions for the armed services and for foreign aid, all of which must depend, for effective results, upon maintenance of high morale and unprecedented and uninterrupted production at home.

"Its 'belief,' so sanguinely and naively stated, in the ability of states and local governments to cope with the results of atomic attack cannot be regarded seriously when the Congress recently found it necessary to appropriate a sizeable sum to assist a flood-stricken area which suffered a much less unexpected and devastating damage than enemy attack would bring."

Data reported to the AMA reflect local officials' increasing awareness of their responsibility for urban residents' safety. More than \$4,300,000 for civil defense was appropriated for fiscal 1951 by 78 U. S. cities, ranging from 15,000 to 8,000,000. This contrasts with but \$275,000 spent for this purpose in fiscal 1950 in the same cities. For fiscal 1952, however, with less than half the 87 reporting cities having finally approved next year's budget, civil defense appropriations rose to more than \$12,000,000.

New York leads all other cities in civil defense appropriations for 1952; more than \$9,000,000 is budgeted for this purpose as compared to some \$2,000,000 spent last year. Detroit has allocated \$1,500,000 for civil defense expenditures—two-thirds for purchase of equipment—during the 1952 fiscal year.

The states of New York and New Jersey have concluded a civil defense mutual assistance pact, expanding a military defense pact made between those states in September 1950; the latter provides for interchange of militia in a defense emergency. The new pact provides that each state will send civilian defense workers and equipment if needed by the other, and each will try to adopt the same equipment, organizational methods, warnings, drills and type of training.

Action has also been completed by all ten states in the northeast to participate in a uniform civil defense and disaster compact.

Such compacts have also been made by various cities, including eight in the state of Washington.¹ The city of New Haven, Connecticut, has entered into a compact for cooperation and integration of civil defense planning and services with six surrounding towns: East Haven, Milford, Orange, North Haven, West Haven and Woodbridge.

Constitutional Amendments Beaten in New Mexico

The voters of New Mexico defeated eight proposed constitutional amendments on September 18. That providing absentee voting received a majority but failed to meet the requirement for any amendment affecting the elective franchise of a two-thirds vote in each county and three-fourths over-all.

Other amendments would have: eliminated the prohibition against selling or giving liquor to Indians; provided for appointment instead of election of the superintendent of public instruction and required that he be an experienced educational administrator with not less than a master's degree;

permitted the legislature to fix salaries of the Supreme Court and district courts, now frozen into the constitution (except that supplementary duties and compensation therefor have been assigned by the legislature); permitted municipalities to vote on bond issues at special as well as regular elections; and doubled the per diem compensation of legislators (now \$10).

The heaviest adverse vote was on nonpartisan appointment of Supreme Court and district judges by the governor from panels of three names submitted by nonpartisan commissions. For the Supreme Court the commission would have consisted of the chief justice as chairman and the Board of Bar Commissioners of the State Bar, composed of one from each judicial district. A commission for a district judge nomination would have consisted of the chief justice, two lawyers selected by the bar of the district and two non-lawyers, also residents of the district, one appointed by the governor, the other by the Supreme Court. After a year, if the judge desired to remain in office, a vote was provided, at the next congressional election, on the question of retaining him. The plan was proposed by the Bar Association.

Employee Suggestion Plan Saves New York State \$435,000

In four and a half years of operation of its employees' suggestion plan¹ New York State has paid out more than \$18,000 in awards ranging from \$5 to \$500. As a result of the suggestions an estimated \$435,000 in savings has accrued to the state.

A board of three members, appointed by the governor, administers the program. Awards are in the form of cash, salary increments, medals or certificates.

¹See the REVIEW, September 1951, page 422.

¹See the REVIEW, January 1948, page 36.

More Organization Reports of Massachusetts Commission

The Massachusetts Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government, after making three preliminary reports,¹ has issued two larger reports. The fourth deals with industrial relations, the fifth with public welfare.

The fourth report recommends that the present Department of Industrial Accidents be merged into the Department of Labor and Industries and that six existing boards and commissions be reduced to three. One of these, the Development and Industrial Commission, would be transferred elsewhere, leaving only two in the reorganized Department of Labor and Industries—the Industrial Accident Board and a new Industrial Relations Board. Eight present divisions would shrink to seven and one of these, the Division of Standards, would be transferred. The Divisions of Apprentice Training and of Employment Security would remain; new divisions resulting from reassignment of functions of existing divisions would be conciliation, economic research, industrial health and safety and workmen's compensation.

Responsibility would be centered in the commission instead of being diffused as at present. The three positions of associate commissioner would be abolished. An unpaid Advisory Council would be created, consisting of three representatives of organized labor, three of management and three of the public.

The fifth report proposes a complete reorganization of the Department of Public Welfare to eliminate waste and duplication and to produce substantial economies. There would be a Division of Public Assistance, a Division of Child and Youth Services, and an Administrative Division, instead of various

scattered and overlapping units. Top administrative personnel would be reduced and strengthened and district offices would be cut from seven to six. A stronger lien law is urged, to permit much larger recoveries from estates of old-age assistance recipients.

More Legislative Research Bodies

Establishment of legislative councils this year by New Mexico and South Dakota brings to 26 the states with interim legislative study committees, the Council of State Governments reports. Since the end of World War II twelve states have created such agencies. Kansas established the first in 1933.

States now having such councils are: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Other developments during 1951 designed to facilitate the legislative function included creation of a Georgia bill-drafting unit within the attorney general's office; establishment in Colorado and Washington of permanent committees on statutory revisions; and establishment of new legislative budget and auditing control staffs under legislative committees in Iowa, Oklahoma and Washington.

Oregon Sets Up Finance Department

The Oregon legislature has established a new Department of Finance, consisting of the budget office and the former purchasing and printing departments. These two departments were under the State Board of Control but will now be under a finance director appointed by the governor.

¹See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 209.

Consolidation of State Agencies in Michigan Urged

Recommendations recently made by the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government would combine the functions of 22 existing state agencies under three, according to the Council of State Governments.

A department of professional licensing would integrate the functions of boards now regulating various professions and trades; advisory boards for each would conduct examinations and decide on issuance of licenses. The Treasury Department would be expanded to include custody and investment of state funds, revenue collection, and representation of the state in dealing with local governmental units on tax and bonding matters. Under a third proposal a division of drivers and motor vehicle service, with a number of related functions, would be created in the State Department. Legislation and constitutional amendments would be required to put the recommendations into effect.

34 States Adopt Federal Social Security

Legislation enabling cities to participate in the federal old age and survivors' insurance program has been adopted in 34 states since the 1950 amendment to the social security law extended coverage to state and local government employees. Under such legislation the state can enter into an agreement with the federal government to provide coverage for local government employees, except those covered by a local retirement system or pension fund at the time the agreement is made.

States Adopt New Laws for Crime Control

State legislatures in 1951, according to a summer survey by the Council of

State Governments, enacted a large volume of new crime control legislation.

Stiffer regulations and penalties for narcotics traffickers were provided in Arkansas, Illinois, Maryland, New York, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Utah. Florida, Maine and New Hampshire strengthened controls over bookmaking. Iowa passed a law—similar to laws in Minnesota and Wisconsin—providing that "intentional possession or wilful keeping of a gambling device upon any licensed premises is cause for the revocation of any license." Idaho, Iowa, New York and Ohio strengthened state supervision over local law enforcement. Three states—Illinois, New York and Texas—strengthened their grand jury systems to enable local communities to uncover corruption and improper conduct.

Seven states added stiffer controls over horse and dog racing and sporting events, and an equal number over slot machines and games of chance. Ten new enactments of the interstate crime control program were recorded: North Carolina and Texas enacted the interstate probation and parole compact; Georgia, Tennessee and Texas passed the uniform extradition act; Kansas, Nevada and Texas passed the out-of-state witnesses act; and Arkansas and Missouri enacted the fresh pursuit act. Eight states—Alabama, Arkansas, California, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, New York and Texas—authorized crime investigations.

One-man Grand Jury Restored in Michigan

Governor Williams of Michigan has signed a bill restoring the one-man grand jury system, which began in 1917 but was abolished in 1949. It enables a single judge to conduct a crime investigation and to grant immunity to witnesses.

Commission to Overhaul Missouri Election Laws

The Missouri legislature has passed and Governor Smith has signed a bill creating a special twelve-man commission to study the state's election laws and submit recommendations to the 1953 legislature. The commission consists of six members from each house of the legislature and is headed by Senator Edgar J. Keating of Kansas City, sponsor of the bill.

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* hails the act and urges consideration of changing the date for primaries from August to May, the use of voting machines, and review of the absentee voting law as well as correction of conflicts, overlapping and obsolete features of existing laws.

New Florida Laws for Municipalities

The 1951 Florida legislature considered the usual multitude of bills affecting city and county government but enacted only one significant piece of legislation for cities. A state enabling act to permit municipalities to participate in the federal social security program is now in effect. This law permits cities having no pension plans or other retirement coverage for employees to make agreements with the federal agency through the State Industrial Commission, which will have responsibility for supervising the operation of the plan. Full details of the Florida plan have not yet been announced by the commission.

Lesser bills affecting cities include: (a) clarification of the controversial cigarette tax law whereby the state-collected moneys are largely returned to the municipalities and (b) a general act to permit cities to acquire, construct and finance off-street parking facilities.

A movement for state constitutional revision failed in committee during the early days of the session and no fur-

ther major constitutional activity is anticipated for the succeeding biennium.

WILLIAM F. LARSEN

University of Florida

Council-manager Plan Developments

Englewood, Colorado, (1950 population 16,619) voted 764 to 180 for the council-manager plan at a special election on August 7. It carried in each of the ten voting precincts by wide margins. At the November election nine councilmen are to be elected, two from each of four wards and one at large, to take office in January 1952.

The council-manager plan has been adopted in **Black Mountain, North Carolina**, (1,165) and **Bowdoinham (town), Maine**, (1,033).

Petitions in **Quincy, Massachusetts**, for substitution of Plan A (mayor-council) for Plan E (council-manager) have been thrown out because of irregularities.

In **Lynn, Massachusetts**, two protests which had been filed against the holding of a referendum at the November election on adopting Plan E—statutory council-manager plan—have been rejected. One appeal, concerning the validity and sufficiency of the signatures to the petitions filed by the Plan E Association, was thrown out by the city council September 11 because of lack of proof. The appellant, a city fireman, announced he would carry the matter to the Superior Court. The other, claiming that a prohibition against city employees making political contributions is illegal, was ruled invalid.

A slate of candidates pledged to the council-manager plan was nominated in **Schuylkill Haven, Pennsylvania**, and will appear on the November ballot.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Washington, D.C.**, is conducting an educational campaign for the manager plan.

In **Hialeah, Florida**, a council-manager proposal was defeated by a vote of 1,801 to 1,511 on September 11. Over 2,000 who voted at the election failed to vote on the manager question. The proposal was bitterly opposed by the mayor and council. It was supported by an organized citizen group and by the *Home News*.

Fort Myers, Florida, will hold a referendum on the council-manager plan in the near future.

The city council of **Warren, Ohio**, on August 22 accepted petitions of the Warren Charter League for the election of a charter commission. The election will be on November 6 and the commission will have a year in which to prepare and submit a new charter.

The council-manager plan is under consideration in **Salem, Ohio**. C. H. Vaughan, president of the city council, advocates the plan, along with non-partisan elections. He is not seeking re-election.

Delaware, Ohio, plans a vote on adoption of the council-manager plan.

Petitions have been circulated in **Ashtabula, Ohio**, for a vote at the November 6 election on the question of returning to the appointive city manager plan. This was adopted in 1916 but amended in 1948 to require election of the manager, thus making it no longer true council-manager government.

The *Public Ledger* of **Maysville, Kentucky**, is campaigning for the manager plan.

Voters of **Burlington, Iowa**, turned down a council-manager proposal 4,764 to 3,415 on August 11. Thus the present commission plan is retained. The total vote was about half the registration. The manager plan was advocated by the Citizens Committee for Good Government composed chiefly of business and professional people and housewives. It was opposed by the

present mayor and commission and various labor leaders, including the Building Trades Council; however, the Trades and Labor Assembly (AFL) and the Auto Workers Union (CIO) took no stand for or against the plan. Another manager proposal was defeated in Burlington in 1924.

In **Idaho Falls, Idaho**, the mayor recently appointed a committee to study the manager plan and report its recommendations to the mayor and commission. There has also been established a Citizens Committee of 100 to keep watch over the city's government and to consider the desirability of the manager plan.

The **Thermopolis, Wyoming**, Chamber of Commerce has established a committee to study the council-manager plan and submit recommendations. Wyoming has one manager city, **Laramie**.

Port Angeles, Washington, will vote on adoption of the manager plan at a special election November 27.

Council-manager cities receiving awards in the 1950 traffic law enforcement contest conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police are **Oakland, Pasadena, Sacramento and San Jose, California; Dallas, Texas; and Dayton, Ohio**. Winners in the 1950 National Traffic Safety Contest included the following manager cities: **Kansas City, Missouri; Rochester, New York; Wichita, Kansas; San Jose, California; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Dubuque, Iowa; and Tucson, Arizona**, according to the International City Managers' Association.

City Managers Hold Annual Meeting

The annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, at Poland Spring, Maine, in September, was attended by over 600 people of whom 323 were city managers, a

record. Bill N. Taylor, manager at Wichita Falls, Texas, was elected president. Seven managers received certificates for completing 25 years of manager service; a total of 50 now have such certificates. Kansas City, Missouri, was chosen for the 38th annual conference in the fall of 1952.

Interstate Port Authority for Philadelphia Area

The legislatures of Pennsylvania and New Jersey have ratified an interstate compact creating a Delaware River Port Authority to improve the river, develop the business of the port of Philadelphia-Camden and provide transportation and river-crossing facilities in the port district, including a high speed transit system in South Jersey. The port district is defined as Delaware and Philadelphia Counties on the Pennsylvania side and eight counties in New Jersey starting at a line a little south of Trenton and running generally eastward to the Atlantic Ocean.

Phoenix Greets Its New Citizens

Directed particularly to new citizens of Phoenix, Arizona, as a result of recent annexation, Mayor Nicholas Udall and City Manager Ray W. Wilson prepared and distributed messages welcoming the new residents and setting forth their rights and the services and other advantages offered by the city. The manager's notice specified how to obtain information concerning the various city functions as affecting the individual citizen.

Detroit Adopts Compulsory Arbitration for Firemen

In Detroit, a charter amendment recently adopted by a vote of 96,193 to 61,262, requires compulsory arbi-

tration of labor disputes between the city and employees of the fire department when requested by half or more of the firemen. The Detroit Fire Fighters' Association, which urged the amendment, has a no-strike clause in its constitution. City officials opposed the amendment.

Under its provisions one arbiter is to be appointed by the city, one by the employees and a third is to be selected by one of four alternative methods—by the two arbiters, by the governor, by the State Mediation Board or by the National Labor Relations Board. Decisions handed down by the arbiters on questions submitted by the firemen are binding on them, on the board of fire commissioners and on the city council.

New York University Trains for Governmental Publicity

One of the first courses in any American university in government publicity and information has been established at New York University's Graduate Division of Public Service. Lecturers for the course, which began September 26, are Maxwell Lehman, editor of *The Civil Service Leader*, and Leo J. Margolin, public relations executive and former newspaperman. It offers graduate students preparing for government service, or already in government, systematic study of philosophy, problems and techniques of public relations and the dissemination of government information to the public.

At the New School for Social Science, also in New York City, a fifteen-weeks course in municipal public relations began September 27 under Henry Davis Nadig, executive director of the Government Public Relations Association.

County and Township . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

City, County Officials Consider Joint Action

Localities in Tennessee and Colorado Seek to Cooperate

IN COLORADO, city-county cooperation was given renewed emphasis recently when the following letter was sent by the president of the Colorado Municipal League to all county board chairmen:

"Both you and the officials of the cities and towns in your county are responsible for local government, that government which is closest to the people. County and municipal officials have many problems in common and on many of them cooperation has occurred. Among our mutual problems are highway planning, property reappraisal, civil defense, planning and zoning, public health, etc.

"Because of our common interests, the officers of the Colorado Municipal League have decided to provide for each board of county commissioners a complimentary subscription to *Colorado Municipalities*, our monthly magazine.

"The June 1951 issue is enclosed. In it you will find a report of the proceedings of our convention. Also enclosed is a list of the resolutions adopted which are of most interest to county officials. Your president, Mr. Walter Stout, spoke to us on the subject of highway planning and we shall look forward to reporting his speech in an early issue of the magazine.

"We hope that you will find our magazine of interest and that you will pass this letter and copies of it along to other members of your board and to other officials of your county."

The September issue of *Colorado*

Municipalities reports that although the Boulder city council postponed consideration of a county health unit, it "went on record for improvement and coordination of city and county health services as desirable preliminary steps toward creation of a county health unit."

The committee on city-county cooperation set up by the Tennessee Municipal League at its June meeting has scheduled meetings with the County Judges Association (county commissioners) and the County Highway Officials Association, to discuss a joint local government legislative program which the three groups would submit to candidates for governor and the legislature next year. If the work of the committees of the three organizations produces some area of agreement for a joint legislative program, a convention of city officials, county judges and county highway officials may be scheduled for next spring.

Dallas, Texas, has renewed its contract with Dallas County regarding fire calls beyond city limits, but it has served notice that in 1952 the price will be \$50 per call, which may more than treble the cost to the county.

Effective last July 1, Cooke County and Gainesville, Texas, began operation of a joint city-county health unit. They are sharing the costs equally.

City and county officials of Maricopa County and Phoenix, Arizona, recently discussed jointly mutual problems including appraisal of the city side of the city-county building, a rental agreement for use of county voting machines in city elections, care of city jail prisoners in the county hospital and routing of heavy trucks.

Erie County Candidate Recommends Manager Plan

In Erie County (Buffalo), New York, a candidate for office of county supervisor recently declared: "It is time the government of Erie County provided for orderly and intelligent management of the public's business. The rapid growth of Erie County demands that the old fashioned and cumbersome board of supervisors be made a more modern and representative body. The time has come to eliminate overlapping functions, official deadwood and jurisdictional conflicts. The time has come for the establishment of a county manager system as provided by the New York State legislature in 1935."

King County Votes in March on Home Rule Charter

The King County (Seattle), Washington, Board of Freeholders has advised the county commissioners that it will have a proposed county charter ready for submission to the voters in next March's municipal elections.

Officials Organize to Retain County Government

A summer meeting of commissioners from Connecticut's eight counties was largely spent in discussing the bill, nearly passed by the 1951 legislative session, which would have abolished county government. It was decided that positive action in public relations should be attempted to convince the state that county government still was essential. Only disagreement on details between the House and the Senate prevented county government from being abolished. The county commissioners plan to approach both parties in an attempt to forestall a platform plank in the next campaign calling for abolition of counties.

Connecticut's eight counties have only a few duties, the most important of

which are those they exercise as judicial units. The only elective official is the sheriff. The three commissioners for each county are appointed by the members of the state legislative delegation from the county.

Kansas Counties Assume Road Functions

In commenting on the fact that in approximately 30 years over half the Kansas counties have abandoned township road administration in favor of the county unit system, a recent editorial in *Better Roads* declared:

"It has been apparent for a long while that the middle western township, although continuing as an active governmental unit, is losing out as a highway administrative agency. The major reason is that modern highway operations, unlike some other governmental functions, demand machinery and management that the township unit usually cannot supply.

"Township highway activity is terminated in one of three ways. Township road systems may be turned over to the counties by legislative act, all at once as in Iowa and Indiana or over a period of years as in Michigan. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, county operations on local roads are being gradually extended as individual townships make arrangements with county highway departments to take over the work. Under the third method, which might be called the Kansas plan, through citizen or official initiative an individual county may consolidate all township mileage within its borders, placing it under control of the county board and the county engineer.

"The same inevitable forces that have operated elsewhere have brought half the Kansas counties under the unit plan. This has taken more than 30 years, but the Kansas pace has stepped up as the years have gone by.

(Continued on page 502)

Toledo Makes Five-Year Report on Income Tax

About Half of Receipts Go for Payment of Debt

TOLEDO, first Ohio city to adopt a local income tax and second only to Philadelphia among U. S. cities using it, recently published¹ a summary of the use made of the income tax revenue during its first five years. The tax, levied at one per cent on salaries, wages, commissions and other personal compensation, on residents and non-residents who work in the city and on the net profits of business, professions and other activities in the city, became effective March 1, 1946, and was approved at a referendum the following month.

In the five years 1946-50, inclusive, the city collected \$28,486,760 from the income tax. Approximately half this total has been expended or set aside for debt service, \$14,356,665. Next largest sum has been allocated for city general operations, \$5,375,000. Capital outlays claimed \$4,134,175 and \$2,400,000 was used for a stabilization fund set up to provide for an annual reduction in the tax rate of up to \$1 per \$1000. The remainder, \$970,919, was expended to administer the tax, collection expense thus representing approximately 3.4 per cent of the collections.

The ordinance enacting the tax had provided for the revenues to be allocated: (1) to defray administration of the tax, (2) \$1,388,543 annually for five years for service on general purpose bonds payable within the 10-mill

tax rate limit, (3) not exceeding \$800,000 annually for general operating purposes, (4) \$250,000 annually for maintenance and new equipment, (5) \$550,000 annually to capital improvements, (6) \$480,000, or the equivalent of \$1 per \$1000 of the tax rate, to a stabilization fund, to be used for tax reduction, and (7) the remainder to the bond retirement fund.

By the close of 1949 it was evident that the bond retirement fund would shortly have sufficient money to pay off at maturity the city's remaining general purpose bonded debt, and the ordinance was amended to permit use of larger amounts for general operations and the remainder for capital improvements.

The five annual allocations of \$1,388,543 each have provided in full for the payment of the city's general purpose, limited tax, bonded debt outstanding at the time the tax was enacted, \$6,369,531, as well as the \$573,184 interest thereon, a total of \$6,942,715. To the end of 1950, \$4,488,022 of this amount had matured and been paid, while \$2,454,693 was in hand to meet principal and interest maturities through 1958, when the last of the bonds are due.

In addition to providing for the city's general bonds payable inside the tax rate limit, the income tax also provided for payment through the end of 1950 of \$3,247,558 principal and interest on general purpose bonds payable from taxes levied outside the 10-mill limit, pursuant to voter authorization. Additionally, payments to the bond retirement fund sufficed to meet the remaining \$4,166,392 principal and interest due on the unlimited tax bonds to their final payment date in 1976.

¹The Toledo City Journal, September 1, 1951.

In other words, after five years the city had set aside from its income tax collections sufficient money to meet all remaining charges on its general purpose bonded debt, whether payable inside or outside the tax rate limit. (The city has other bonds which are paid from other sources, mainly water bonds paid from water revenues, but including special assessment bonds payable primarily from special assessments, and a small airport debt paid from airport receipts.)

The income tax ordinance was originally enacted to expire December 31, 1950. It was reenacted last year, however,² and provision made for use of the funds for a wider range of purposes, including improvements to the municipal university and aid to the schools.

United Nations Views Local Finance

Among the resolutions adopted at the August plenary session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in Geneva was a proposal of the International Union of Local Authorities for the inclusion of local and provincial finance in the program of the council.

Thirteen member nations voted in favor of the resolution with three against—U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia. Canada and Peru abstained from voting.

Adoption of the resolution indicates a recognition of the importance of the coordination of the fiscal policy of central governments with that of provincial and local governments in achieving effective economic stabilization, in the view of the American Committee for International Municipal Cooperation, which reports the development.

Chief arguments advanced for the

resolution were: (1) that the study by the council of public fiscal policy as an instrument of economic stabilization would be incomplete if it did not take into account the impact of local taxation and borrowing upon the economy; (2) advisors sent by the U. N. to underdeveloped countries to discuss public finance and other problems of economic development often are asked to advise on problems of finance confronting local communities—problems that are being heightened as a result of the shift from a rural to an urban economy in these countries.

Ridgewood, New Jersey, Revokes Tax on TV

Citizens of Ridgewood, New Jersey, no longer have to worry about their TV antennas showing. The Municipal Finance Officers Association reports that a personal property tax on television sets, assessed by counting the TV aerials on the rooftops, has been repealed effective January 1, 1952, by the village commission. This action was taken after protest by citizens of the assessment of \$200 per set per year, amounting to a tax of \$11.60.

Chief objections to the tax were that many TV sets with indoor antennas escaped assessment and that some sets cost considerably less than \$200 while others cost much more, but all were assessed at the same value.

The TV tax has produced approximately \$46,000 annually in revenue for the village on the basis of the current tax rate of \$5.80 per \$100. There are an estimated 4,000 owners of television sets in the village.

Connecticut Reduces Bridge Tolls

Toll rates on a bridge spanning the Connecticut River between Hartford and East Hartford have been reduced by half following receipt of revenues

(Continued on page 493)

²See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 105.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Oak Ridge Holds P. R. Election

Chooses Seven-man Council to Serve for Next Two Years

NEW seven-man advisory council was elected on September 11 in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, in the community's second P. R. election. Nineteen candidates contested the election in the atomic energy center, and 3,073 voters, about 35 per cent of those eligible, went to the polls.

Mrs. Dana Nance was the only candidate to obtain the quota of votes entirely on first choices, actually gathering a substantial surplus. She and four other elected candidates had been endorsed, along with three defeated, by a group of interested citizens five days before the election.

The *Oak Ridger*, reporting the election the next day, characterized the result as follows: "The new council will represent a wide range of interests and activities in Oak Ridge. Mrs. Nance is a housewife and has been active in a number of community affairs; George is a labor leader and plant worker; Rothermel is an attorney and president of the safety council; Merrill is an insurance agent and member of council committees; Cohn is a biologist and conductor of the local symphony orchestra; Teasley is a custodian and active in Gamble Valley affairs; and Mount is an engineer and connected with school activities."

The report pointed out that the only negro winner, Teasley, polled 190 first choice votes even though only 159 persons voted in Gamble Valley, the district of his residence, indicating that

his support was drawn from the town at large.

On September 18 the ballots were further analyzed to select an alternate for each council member, who could succeed such council member in case of resignation, disability or death during the term. For this purpose the ballots which make up the quota for the elected councilman in question are recounted, together with the ballots not counted for any of the elected candidates (the latter being necessarily less than a quota in the original election) and the next most preferred choice among the originally defeated candidates is determined by the single transferable vote principle. The process is repeated for each of the elected candidates.

This arrangement permits a single candidate to be designated as alternate for two or more elected members. Further examination of the ballots to fill vacancies by this arrangement would not be necessary unless two vacancies occur for which there is but one alternate, or unless both a member and his alternate become unable to serve before the term ends.

According to the *Oak Ridger*, only 46 ballots were marked incorrectly, indicating that citizens were familiar with their part in the election.

Eight Cities Plan P. R. Elections

The six Massachusetts cities with Plan E council-manager charters will elect their city councils and school committees by proportional representation on November 6, to serve for two-year terms. Cambridge will hold its sixth P. R. election, Lowell its fifth; Worcester, Medford, Quincy

and Revere their second.

According to the Worcester Telegram, the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester interviewed candidates for council and school committee during September as a guide to its campaign endorsements. Two years ago five candidates endorsed by the association were elected to the nine-man council. Local civic groups in Cambridge and several other cities also plan to endorse slates for both the council and the school committee.

Cincinnati will hold its fourteenth P. R. election for its city council and Hamilton, Ohio, its thirteenth. As it has done ever since its city's council-manager-P. R. charter was adopted in 1924, the nonpartisan Cincinnati City Charter Committee will nominate and support a full slate of candidates. The committee now has a majority on the council.

Saugus, Massachusetts, Plans P. R. Referendum

A special election to determine whether proportional representation shall be continued for the election of selectmen under town manager government in Saugus, Massachusetts, will be held October 8. The result will determine the system of election to be used at the regular town election next January.

The referendum was required by a recent act of the state legislature and the date was fixed by the town selectmen after a debate in which Selectman John J. Bucchiere pointed out that only two residents of the town had taken part in submitting the petition resulting in the enactment to the legislature.

Results of Israel's Parliamentary Election

The final returns for the election of the Israel Knesset (parliament) on July 30, described in general terms in

this department last month,¹ are as follows:

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, ISRAEL, JULY 30, 1951			
Party	Per- centage of Votes ^a	Seats	Per- centage of Seats
Mapai	37.1	46	38.3
General Zionist	16.4	20	16.7
Mapam	12.3	15	12.5
Hapoel Hamizrahi ^b	6.8	8	6.6
Herut	6.6	8	6.6
Mapai Arab	4.9	5	4.2
Communist	3.9	5	4.2
Progressive	3.3	4	3.3
Agudath Israel ^b	2.0	3	2.5
Agudath Israel Work- ers ^b	1.6	2	1.7
Mizrahi ^b	1.5	2	1.7
Sephardim	1.7	1	0.8
Yemenites	1.2	1	0.8
Others	0.6	0	.0

^aAs reported in the *New York Times* for August 2; a very small part of the vote was still uncouncted.

^bThese parties contested the 1949 election jointly as the United Religious Bloc.

What's Wrong in Toledo? Asks Local Newspaper

The Toledo Blade, in an article on August 19 by George Jenks, staff writer, reports some disappointment in that city with the effect of the repeal of P. R.:

"When only 30 candidates qualified this summer for the October 2 elimination heat of the councilmanic election, local politicians began to wonder if they scored an empty victory in getting rid of proportional representation two years ago.

"For fifteen years or more disciples of the two-party system have been complaining that P. R. was not only lousing up their county organizations but was promoting a serious dearth of candidates for city office.

¹See the REVIEW, September, page 433. That account is in error in reporting 150 seats in the parliament. The number is 120.

. After the adoption of P. R. in the new city charter of 1935, both county machines' began to deteriorate largely because of a halt in the influx of new and younger workers in the wards.

"The first P. R. election in 1935 drew 58 candidates. Thereafter the fields dropped off sharply, descending to 18 candidates in 1943, 21 in 1945, 23 in 1947 and 34 in 1949.

"There was rejoicing within both parties when P. R. was laid to rest two years ago. It was conceded that the 1951 election under the plurality system would bring out scores of candidates, breathing new life into ward politics and, perhaps, rescue both Democratic and Republican organizations from the shadows into which they were drifting.

"Detroit, with a councilmanic electoral system similar to the one Toledo will test this year, customarily draws between 100 and 200 candidates for its primary. It was the Detroit experiment which persuaded the sponsors of the 1949 charter amendment, the Democratic county organization, to provide for a primary in Toledo municipal elections. . . .

"Board of Elections officials estimate that the cost of the October 2 elimination election will approach \$50,000 for the hiring of crews for the city's 361 precinct voting places and for printing of ballots, poll books, etc. It is being argued that with only 30 candidates, there is no need for a primary and the consequent expenditure of \$50,000 of taxpayers' money, particularly since the primary is not expected to draw more than 30,000 voters. . . .

"The process of separating 18 finalists from 30 candidates is not going to inspire any feverish interest among

the voters and neither is it going to support the 1949 contention that P. R. was what was wrong with Toledo municipal elections."

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 490)

producing more than enough money to pay operating expense and amortize the cost of the bridge. A state law provides that tolls must be reduced if they bring in more money than needed for these purposes, according to the American Public Works Association.

Rates on the bridge—a part of Connecticut's thoroughway which crosses the state from the southwest to the northeast corners—were originally set at ten cents. In addition to cutting rates for "sometime crossers" to five cents, the state set commuters' rates at a penny a crossing—a book of 100 tickets costing a dollar.

The toll bridge, which has been operating for nearly ten years, was financed with a bond issue of \$4,400,000. The bonds were to be amortized at the rate of \$160,000 a year and are not payable at an earlier date. With the ten-cent toll more than meeting all expenses including principal payment, a surplus of some \$1,500,000 has been created in the sinking fund.

The five-cent toll, it is believed, will produce enough revenue to finance bridge operation and amortize the bonds inasmuch as the reduction in rates increased traffic spectacularly. A free bridge, a short way upstream that necessitated a short detour from the parkway, was almost deserted after the rate cut became effective.

Tolls on all other Connecticut state highways and pay bridges are still ten cents.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Greenwich Citizens Survey Their Town

Suggest Centralization of Administration in Manager

THE report of the Citizens' Committee of Greenwich, Connecticut, recently submitted to the town's board of estimate and taxation,¹ includes these three basic recommendations:

1. Make the board of selectmen a policy-determining body with no administrative authority or responsibility, but with power to appoint and remove a chief administrative official, to be known as the town manager, as well as town counsel and the plan commission;

2. Create the position of town manager to have complete administrative authority and responsibility over all operating departments;

3. Abolish the health, recreation and welfare boards, placing their activities under the manager.

Commenting that "Greenwich is governed not by an integrated town government agency but by a federation of largely independent offices and departments," the report points out that there are 268 elective officers in the town government, that five of the eight major departments are headed by boards while the remaining three are under the board of selectmen, that some department heads are responsible directly to the people, others to the representative town meeting, others to the board of estimate and taxation, others to the selectmen and others to several or all of these.

"The fact that Greenwich is as well governed as it is," the report remarks, "is in spite of rather than due to the basic plan of organization. Contributing to this has been the willingness of many responsible citizens to devote much of their time to making the system work through active participation on boards and study groups The most serious deficiency in the present organization is the almost complete lack of any meaningful centralization of administrative authority and responsibility."

Other recommendations of the committee include the centralization of staff functions of personnel, purchasing and planning under the chief administrative officer and the strengthening of financial administration by appointment of a financial director in place of the present comptroller, under whom would be the assessor and tax collector, appointed rather than elected as at present.

The committee considered both the council-manager plan as used in Hartford and the mayor-council plan of Stamford. It reached the conclusion, however, that "while there is good reason to believe that as Greenwich grows the need for a change to one of these forms will become more apparent, there is considerable reluctance on the part of the residents of Greenwich to depart from its traditional New England town government. The committee shares this reluctance and is not prepared to make such a complete change at this time."

The report discusses all departments and agencies of the town government in detail. Charts set forth the organization of the departments of health, welfare, recreation, public works, police, fire and education, as well as the over-all plan recommended for the town by the committee.

¹*Town Government—Organization and Administration, Greenwich, Connecticut, Citizens' Committee Survey Report, 1951. 86 pages.*

The Citizens' Committee of eight, headed by Paul Grady, chairman, made the report at the request of the board estimate and taxation.

Planning Activities

The *Annual Report* of the Citizens Regional Planning Council for Jackson, Clay and Platte Counties in Missouri and Wyandotte and Johnson Counties in Kansas has been issued by Lyman Field, general chairman of the board of governors.

Organized in 1944 to "fashion and guide the reaction of citizens toward intelligent, long-distance planning through actual citizen participation in local and area problems and projects," the council works through large citizen committees, sometimes numbering several hundred. It does no technical planning but studies and makes recommendations to "proper authorities as to what appears to be the best development program."

Among the matters it has studied for the two-state, five-county area, including Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, as well as numerous smaller cities and towns, are airports, area civil defense, blighted areas and urban redevelopment, education, annexation, flood control, public health and welfare, traffic and transportation, recreation and population growth.

The Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning recounts its activities in zoning, recreation, transit, highways and parking, air pollution, etc., in its 1950-1951 report. The council has established liaison between the city planning commissions of Philadelphia and its neighbor Bucks County; aided in securing a new city charter; and continued with its school program—helping in the initiating of courses in city planning in senior high schools, participating in courses for teachers in planning and on the new charter,

servicing the Youth Planning Council program, conducting "Know Your City" tours, introducing workshops in junior high schools on planning and redevelopment, etc. The council is made up of some 150 member organizations.

Plans and Action, bulletin of the Poughkeepsie (New York) Area Development Association, devotes two issues to new Bureau of the Census figures on population and housing units for the city and surrounding area.

The Citizens Development Committee of Cincinnati reports progress in the city's efforts for urban redevelopment. The City Planning Commission has approved ten sites for first priority study. "Although much remains to be done," says the committee's *Bulletin*, "it is encouraging to note that Cincinnati has progressed farther in its redevelopment program than other Ohio cities."

* * *

Victory after Five Years

The recent victory for consolidation of the town and city of Norwich, Connecticut, and adoption of the council-manager plan for the combined area, climaxes five years of hard work by the Citizens' Committee for Better Norwich Government. The committee put on an intensive campaign for adoption of the charter, which had previously been approved by the legislature, supported by some four hundred volunteers. Literature was distributed to each home in the city and town and a radio serial was conducted. A local newspaper ran a cartoon series on the proposal.

* * *

New Groups Active

The Des Moines Committee for Good Government has become the Good Government Association, organized to promote businesslike, honest and efficient local government, induce citizens to take an active interest in municipal affairs, and encourage and support competent candidates for office.

According to the *News Letter* of the Citizens' Civic Association of Fort Wayne, Indiana, "residents of Waynesdale and of the east side of Fort Wayne, with the assistance of the Citizens' Civic Association, have completed reorganization steps to solve acute problems in their respective areas. Both groups represent large segments of Allen County's population and have elected a fine group of public-spirited citizens to membership on their boards of directors. They have recently voted to affiliate with the [local] Citizens Council."

A new Citizens Committee has been organized in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. At its first meeting the committee heard William R. Turner, executive secretary of a citizens group in Prince George's County, Maryland, organized last year. One of the first actions of the committee was the condemnation, by overwhelming vote, of the secret sessions held by the Anne Arundel board of county commissioners. John M. Whitmore was elected chairman of the committee.

* * *

Merit System Appraised

The "Plan of Improvement" for civil service in Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia, has been given another "look" by the League of Women Voters of Atlanta. That organization's July issue of *Facts* reports on progress made since 1946, describes how civil service is working and the need for the merit system. The Plan of Improvement, reports *Facts*, includes the setting up of a joint committee from the city and county to work toward a uniform merit system for the two governments.

* * *

New Charter Sought

Acting under the new constitutional home rule provision adopted by Rhode Island,¹ the Citizens' League of Paw-

tucket is preparing to place a charter proposal before the voters of that city. It has organized a charter revision committee to canvass the city with petitions to place election of a charter committee on the ballot. The league is seeking the assistance of other non-partisan organizations and of civic-minded individuals. It points out in a recent bulletin that twice as many Pawtucket voters went to the polls to "state their pleasure on the constitutional amendments" submitted, including the one on home rule, as in the state as a whole.

* * *

Hold the Fort

Municipal histories reveal many cases in which council-manager government has been launched with interest, enthusiasm and well organized plans and then left to flounder in ensuing political battles. In these cities a continuing organization charged with keeping its government responsible, honest and efficient would have forestalled the storm. Constructive citizen interest can best be sustained with an organization representing a cross-section of the people who are dedicated to maintaining interest in city affairs and to seeking out and electing to the council competent and responsible people.

BERT W. JOHNSON, City Manager of Boulder, Colorado.

Publications on Citizen Action

Education

Laboratory Practice Descriptions Relating to Citizen Education and the National Emergency. New York 27, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University. 32 pp. (This is the first of the project's publications to be prepared for general school use.)

Philadelphia's Public Schools. An

¹See the REVIEW, July 1951, page 360.

Appraisal and a Program. Philadelphia Greater Philadelphia Movement, 1951. (Based on a 178-page report to the Greater Philadelphia Movement prepared by N. L. Englehart, Edward Shils and John W. Studebaker.)

Federal Government

Big Government and the Citizen. Washington, D. C., League of Women Voters of the United States, 1951. 12 pp. 15 cents. (Although "particularly directed toward administration of the federal government, many of the principles discussed are applicable to state and local government.")

Legislation

An Appraisal of the 1951 Legislature. George H. Hallett, Jr. New York 7, Citizens Union, 1951. 8 pp.

Local Government

Overlapping and Duplication in Local Government. Report of Section on Municipal and County Government. San Francisco, Commonwealth Club of California, 1951. 12 pp.

Municipal Government

Know Your City. Columbia, South Carolina, League of Women Voters, 1951. 58 pp. ("An objective, factual picture of the city.")

1951-1952 Political Directory. Columbia, South Carolina, League of Women Voters, 1951. 16 pp. 25 cents. ("To make available all pertinent facts for city, county, state and national elections in so far as they are of interest to the citizens of Columbia.")

Pawtucket—Our City. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, League of Women Voters, 1951. 34 pp. 25 cents. ("To understand and share in your city government.")

What About Cincinnati? Cincinnati, City Charter Committee, 1951. 12 pp. ("Charter record of achievement.")

Organization Reports

48th Annual Report (1950). San

Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, *The Commonwealth* (Part II), September 3, 1951. 62 pp.

Greater Philadelphia Movement 1950. Report to Supporters. Philadelphia, Greater Philadelphia Movement, 1951. 12 pp.

Headlines of 1950. Annual Report. Philadelphia 10, Committee of 70, 1951. 21 pp. ("There's no greater extravagance in the world than bad government.")

New Haven Is Your Concern. New Haven, Connecticut, Taxpayers Research Council, 1951. 6 pp. (A plea for support.)

Radio

The People Act. By Mary Blackford Ford. New York 10, *Social Action*, April 15, 1951. 35 pp. (A report on the action ideas presented in the radio program produced by the Twentieth Century Fund and the National Broadcasting Company.)

Report on "The People Act." New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1951. 21 pp. (Origin of idea for radio series, preparing programs, cooperating organizations, promotion, speakers, audience response, etc.)

Taxation

What Is New Hampshire Worth to You? Durham, League of Women Voters of New Hampshire, 1951. 8 pp. (What taxes are best for the state?)

Voters' Handbooks

The ABC of Voting. Indianapolis, League of Women Voters of Indiana and of Indianapolis. 16 pp. ("This primer is designed to help you who feel that democracy is worth voting for.")

Women

Don't Underestimate Woman Power. A Blueprint for Intergroup Action. By Dallas Johnson and Elizabeth Bass Golding. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1951. 32 pp. 20 cents. (In union there is strength.)

Researcher's Digest Edited by John E. Bebout

GRA Elects, Makes Annual Merit Awards

Tillinghast Succeeds DeWees as Over 200 Researchers Meet

NEW JERSEY carried off three top honors at the 37th annual conference of the Governmental Research Association which met in Washington, D. C., September 5-6-7. Over 200 were in attendance.

Carlton W. Tillinghast, executive director of the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association and former director of the Southeastern Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League, was elected president of GRA, while two of the three annual awards went to New Jersey bureaus. Tillinghast succeeds Merle W. DeWees of the New Haven Taxpayers Research Council.

The Certificate of Distinction for the "most noteworthy piece of research prepared by a member of the association in 1951," was awarded to the Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce for its *Safeguarding Local School Funds*. This report, prepared by James McGrew, assisted by Steven Schanes, resulted immediately in legislation to require review by state authorities of all local school budgets and an annual audit of school finances. These new safeguards are roughly comparable to those to which county and municipal fiscal operations have been subjected for some years.

The Tax Survey Commission of Atlantic City, Howard G. Fishack, executive director, received the Certificate of Distinction for the most effective presentation of a subject with its

*Material Used in Opposing a Referendum.*¹

The Special Merit Award for the outstanding piece of research prepared for a governmental agency went to the Pennsylvania Economy League for *Pennsylvania Highways—Today and Tomorrow*. This trail-blazing report, prepared for a state commission under the direction of Welles A. Gray, director, provides a complete blue print for the development of Pennsylvania's highways and is based upon principles that make its findings highly significant for other states.

In addition to President Tillinghast, the officers of GRA elected for 1952 are: vice president—George Bestrom, executive vice president, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association; trustees—Howard Friend, research director, Governmental Research Department, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce; Albert J. Richter, managing director, Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research; Calvin Skinner, director, Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research; Edward Staples, executive director, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey; and Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, the Civic Federation (Chicago).

The conference program included workshop sessions on municipal administrative management, performance budgeting and governmental reorganization as well as panel discussions on federal-state-local responsibilities for civilian defense, the publics of governmental research agencies, improving the quality of governmental research, urban congestion and budget balancing in the defense economy.

¹See "Tax Survey Group Beats Police, Fire Pay Raise." The REVIEW, March 1951, page 171.

A ten-page secretary's report reviewed GRA activities for the year and showed a membership of 391 as of August 31.

Bureau Notes

Princeton University's Bureau of Urban Research is sponsoring a series of lectures on urban problems—the planning process and public participation, land use and zoning, housing and urban redevelopment, transportation, finance—October 22, 23, 25, 29 and 30 at Princeton. The lectures will be open to the public without charge.

An Institute of Urban Studies, to be concerned with urgent municipal problems, has been set up at the University of Pennsylvania. The metropolitan region of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware will be the major objective of a three-way attack to be made by the University, in three interrelated programs: education, basic research and service to the community. The program will be directed by Robert B. Mitchell, chairman of the Department of Land and City Planning.

Future Springfield, Inc., of Springfield, Massachusetts, has given unusual evidence of its active interest in the local traffic situation by giving a scholarship in the police traffic training course of the Traffic Institute of Northwestern University to Springfield's police department. Traffic Safety Officer J. Albert Murphy has been named by Chief Raymond P. Gallagher as the recipient.

For several years Future Springfield has recommended that the city budget provide funds for special police traffic training, but each time funds for this purpose were not forthcoming. In consequence, the research group made the award from its own funds.

* * *

New Publication

In order to fill the need for a com-

prehensive review and digest of current civil service legislative and judicial trends, the National Civil Service League has begun publication of a monthly *Civil Service Law Reporter*. It will be divided into three sections: statutes, case law and special articles. The *Reporter* will be edited by H. Eliot Kaplan, deputy comptroller of New York State.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Budgeting (Some Observations). Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, August 1951. 4 pp.

1951 Budgets of Milwaukee's 89 Local Taxing Bodies. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, June 1951. 3 pp.

1951-1953 Executive Budget. State Budget Growth. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer*, September 1951. 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

1952 Budget Suggestions. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, 1951. 18 pp.

Performance Budgeting in Municipalities. By Walter G. Held. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter*, May-June 1951. 3 pp.

Proposed 1952 Expenditures. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes*, August 3, 1951. 1 p.

Building Codes

Benefits of a New Building Code for Providence. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, July 1951. 2 pp.

Charters

Possibilities for Charter Improvement. (Including organization chart

of Providence.) Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, June 1951. 3 pp.

Constitutions

Proposed Constitutional Amendments in New Mexico 1951.¹ By Charles B. Judah. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1951. 16 pp.

Debt

Public Debt Data for Milwaukee's Governments. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, July 2, 1951. 3 pp.

Savings on Callable Bonds. City Has Effected Savings of Many Millions Through Retirements and Refundings. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, June 25, 1951. 3 pp.

The State Debt of South Dakota. By Avon Dreyer. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, School of Business Administration, Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Business Review*, August 1951. 3 pp.

Decentralization

Industrial Decentralization Detroit Region 1940-1950. Projection to 1970. By Paul M. Reid. Detroit 26, Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, 1951. 29 pp. Tables, charts.

Directories

Directory Tennessee Municipal Officials 1951. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, 1951. 48 pp.

Sources of Information on State and Local Government. With Special Reference to the State of Washington. By Warren A. Bishop. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1951. 64 pp. \$1.50.

Education

Clerical Service in the Schools. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, July 1951. 4 pp.

Here We Go Again. Pittsburgh's School District Needs More Money Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P.E.L. Newsletter*, June 1951. 4 pp.

The Minimum Foundation Program for Education in Florida. By Joseph M. Leps. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1951. 12 pp.

Paying for Public Schools in Michigan. By Betty Tableman. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, 1951. 70 pp.

Per Pupil Operating Costs in Schenectady's Public Schools. How Schenectady's Schools Compare: Current Expenses and Taxable Value Per Pupil. School Building Needs in Woodlawn and Grout Park. Estimated School Enrollment for Next Five years. Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Briefings*, May 3, June 19, July 6, 26, 1951. 4, 3, 6 and 3 pp. respectively.

A Survey of Costs Incident to Houston Independent School District Employee Salary Increases. Coordinated with the Tax Research Association Survey of Costs Incident to a Proposed Bond Issue, Published in December 1950. **Appendix to Survey.** Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 41 and 58 pp. respectively.

Grants-in-Aid

Federal Grants in Aid. Intergovernmental Relationships Outlined. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, July 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Federal Grants-in-Aid to the State of Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1951. 6 pp.

¹See page 481, this issue.

Federal Subsidies to State Services. Laramie, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1951. 9 pp.

Legal Drafting

A List of Selected Publications on the Drafting of Legal and Legislative Instruments. By Robert D. Cultice. Columbus 10, Ohio State University, College of Law Library, 1951. 26 pp. 25 cents.

Legislative Assistance

How Should Legislative Investigating Committees Operate? San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth*, July 2, 1951. 26 pp. 25 cents.

Legislative Assistance. Some Staff Services Provided for Legislatures. By Lawrence W. O'Rourke. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1951. vii, 39 pp.

Report of the Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau. (Reports on progress made during 1949 legislative session and outlines further recommendations for 1951 session.) Carson City, State Printing Office, 1950. 69 pp.

Medical Colleges

Report of the New Jersey Medical College Commission. Trenton, the Commission, 1951. 64 pp.

Parks

Erie County Parks System. Buffalo's Park System. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, June 3 and July 26, 1951. 4 pp. each.

Planning

About—Master Plans. (Includes results of questionnaires to 19 cities.) Springfield, Massachusetts, Taxpayers' Association, 1951. 15 pp.

County Planning Commission Serves Municipalities, County, Region. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, July 1951. 3 pp.

Progress in Urban Planning. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government*, June 6, 1951. 5 pp.

Political Parties

Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: A Commentary. By Austin Ranney. Washington 6, American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review*, June 1951. 12 pp. \$2.50.

Salaries

Legislative Salaries Paid in Other Cities and Counties. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, August 30, 1951. 2 pp.

1951 Salaries of City Officials. Waterbury 2, Connecticut, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs*, July 12, 1951. 4 pp.

New Pay Scale for City Engineers. Brockton, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts*, August 28, 1951. 2 pp.

Salaries of Policemen and Firemen of the City of Los Angeles. Los Angeles 13, Government Research, Inc., *Monthly Bulletin*, July 1951. 5 pp.

Shopping Centers

The Modern Shopping Center and Zoning. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, June 1951.

State Government

Here is Your Indiana Government. 1951-1952 Edition. A book of facts . . . dedicated to a better understanding among all Hoosiers of the complex democratic government under which we live. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, 1951. 113 pp. \$1.

Report on Industrial Relations. By the Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. Boston, the Commission, May 1951. 22 pp.

Report on Public Welfare. Boston,

Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. 1951. 27 pp.

State Government Reorganization. By Richard C. Anderson. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, June 1951. 4 pp. 25 cents.

"Unspoken Premises." Basic Assumptions to Government Reorganization. (Excerpts from Section One of the First Partial Report of Assembly Interim Committee on Governmental Reorganization.) By Henry Reining, Jr. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, July 1951. 11 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

City's Income Tax. More Than One Fourth of Revenues During 1940-1950 Came from Income Tax. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, June 4, 1951. 4 pp.

City Tax Rates Climbed \$9 Per \$1,000 in Past 7 Years, Survey Analysis Reveals. State Aid, Property Taxes Have Risen Simultaneously. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer*, June 1951. 2 pp.

Comparison of State Government Expenditures, 1950. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *A PAR Report*, June 29, 1951. 4 pp.

Kentucky State Government: Where Do We Go From Here? Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 12 pp. Illus.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 488)

And the Kansas experience is valuable, showing as it does that voluntary and mandatory plans lead to the same end."

Federal Legislation Promotes County Highway Units

In a recent memorandum clarifying and interpreting the federal aid highway act of 1950, the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads declared: "The

objective sought is to assure the same degree of technical and administrative competence in the construction and maintenance of the local road portion of the federal aid secondary system as is obtained on the state highway portion and, as a means to that end, to bring about the development of self-sufficient county engineering organizations, able to assume their full share of responsibility in a continuing long-range program."

Wisconsin Counties Join Social Security Program

Thirty-one of Wisconsin's 33 eligible counties joined the federal social security system within a few months after state enabling legislation permitted them to do so. The other counties were ineligible under the federal law because they already were members of the state retirement system, which is much less generous in its provisions.

During the same period, 33 of 85 eligible Wisconsin cities and 52 of 350 villages also joined the federal system, as did 59 towns and 35 school districts.

Wisconsin County Officials Hold Institute

The Wisconsin County Boards Association and the Joint Association of County Officers, which includes the treasurers, registers of deeds and clerks of circuit court, recently attended a three and a half day institute sponsored by the Bureau of Government of the University of Wisconsin.

County Officials Hold National Conference

The National Association of County Officials held its fifteenth annual conference in Milwaukee, July 4-7, 1951. Topics discussed included highway administration, local tax sources and problems of organizing county officers.

Books in Review

Bureaucracy in a Democracy. By Charles S. Hyneman. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. xv, 586 pp.

The author spent five years in various offices of the federal administrative service and his interesting worm's-eye view of the massive difficulties of that bulky bureaucracy has been informed by various other governmental experiences. His view of the factual realities and difficulties is sympathetic but not always in step with the programs of the Hoover Commission.

The author ends up with a demand for more purposive politics embracing the president, Congress and the administrative departments and proposes creation of a central council made up of leaders of the currently dominant party selected by the president from Congress with power to add to its membership some party leaders and administrators. The composite policies of such a group, chosen primarily for the intrinsic influence of its members, might give more continuity, creativeness and solidarity of policy to our national affairs, modify the brittle individualism of presidents and the irresponsible bickerings of politics in Congress and reach down to departments with its sense of purpose.

In letting non-Congressional party figures into the new organism, he goes a step further than I did when I proposed in these pages¹ in 1924 an "executive committee," handpicked by the president from among congressional leaders, to meet with him regularly at the capitol to select the "administrative measures" and sponsor them on the floor—a kind of legislative cabinet.

¹"What's the Matter with Congress," by Richard S. Childs, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1924, page 621.

To add party leaders to the group presupposes the existence of leaders who can add weight and the existence of parties which are more distinct in their respective philosophies than any in sight just now, when either party might be glad to recruit Eisenhower as its candidate!

The book is a fresh and important close-up of Washington these days.

R. S. C.

A Councilman Speaks. By Arthur W. Bromage. Ann Arbor, Michigan, George Wahr Publishing Company, 1951. v, 80 pp. \$1.

This pleasant little brochure is a sequel to the author's previous one *On the City Council*. The author, having achieved reelection and a ripening knowledge of the political game in his city, takes us along with him in the process of learning the job and the nature of constituents and policies. His gentle and wise observations have the realism of a photograph and, like the true scientist he is, he provides fresh testimony and atmosphere on conditions which countless other aldermen in American cities know all about but never had the perception to analyze or the articulateness to put into print. A source book!

R. S. C.

Governmental Administration. By James C. Charlesworth. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1951. x, 713 pp. \$6.

Despite the great sweep of the title, this author may have come somewhere near to covering it. In dissecting and classifying the endless things that government does, he finds more distinctions in executive conduct than this businessman ever noticed in his lifetime but deals with them forcefully and sensibly like an effective produc-

tion engineer, which he has in fact been.

The author's reflections are based most commonly on the operations of our national government, where the vast scale of organization forces more emphasis on sound methods than would be required in smaller establishments. If science is the act of recognizing and naming things, this book does that with conviction and authority and has all the earmarks of an important contribution.

R. S. C.

The Governmental Process. Political Interests and Public Opinion. By David B. Truman. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951. xvi, 544 pp. \$5.

With evidence chosen mostly from the congressional scene, the author reviews the past and current activities of "interest groups," their methods, tactics and alliances, and just how the legislative and administrative machinery in Washington creates and adjusts itself to organized pressures. The importance of access is stressed and illuminated at all stages of the legislative process. Much of the material is fresh and analyzed with discernment and penetration.

The author gives us a good photograph of the murky and turmoiled scene, indicates no program for improvement and forecasts no drift toward better or worse.

The Organization of State Administration in Delaware. By Paul Dolan. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1951. 154 pp. \$2.50.

A readable and interesting account of the growth and condition of the state administration and the political pressures which have shaped it. Despite its date it was evidently written

before the excellent 1950 Griffenhagen report proposing sweeping simplification of the state's archaic and jumbled structure since the latter is not mentioned.

Who's Who in United States Politics and American Political Almanac. Edited by Richard Nowinson, Ruth Thornquist Potter, Nicholas Speros and Joan Duncan Kella. Chicago, Capital House Inc., 1950. 955 pp. \$20.

This is a creditable first edition and could logically have been two separate publications, the first containing biographical data on nearly 10,000 American political characters and the second listing personnel of Congress, elective state offices, state legislatures and the larger city governments and the personnel of the national and all the state Republican and Democratic committees. It also reports tabular data on elections, laws, political calendars, etc. Its lists of officeholders ought to be accompanied by the dates of expiration of their terms.

Public Opinion and Political Dynamics. By Marbury Bladen Ogle, Jr. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950. v, 362 pp. \$3.50.

A keen dissection of the weird thing we call public opinion and its bearing on American government. This thoughtful volume finds a thousand components and currents which help make the great composite kettleful, identifying many you will be obliged to confess are obvious although you had never noticed them before. It achieves the author's stated purpose of making the reader able to "understand some of the moves and counter-moves of the political actors whom he observes strutting their parts as he goes about the unquiet business of living in the modern world."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Debt

Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States. New York *The Bond Buyer*, 1951. 471 pp. 50 cents.

Discrimination

1950 Report of Progress. Albany, New York, State Commission Against Discrimination, 1951. v, 112 pp.

Education for Citizenship

Report on an Educational Campaign: The Cincinnati Plan for the United Nations. By Shirley A. Star and Helen MacGill Hughes. Chicago *The American Journal of Sociology*, January 1950. 12 pp. (Reprints distributed by Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, Cincinnati, and the American Association for the United Nations, New York.)

Federal Government

United States Government Organization Manual 1951-52. (Revised as of July 1, 1951.) Washington, 25, D. C., General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, General Register Division, 1951. 725 pp. \$1. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C.)

International Affairs

Economic Aspects of North Atlantic Security. A Statement on National Policy. By the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 10 pp.

Lessons from Asia. Edited by Ernest Minor Patterson. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, July 1951. 197 pp. \$2.

Making Western Europe Defensible. Theodore Geiger and H. van B.

Cleveland. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1951. viii, 87 pp. \$1.

The New Dimension of Diplomacy. The Organization of the U. S. Government for Its New Role in World Affairs. By Don K. Price. New York 21, Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 1951. 29 pp.

Program-making in Unesco 1946-1951. A Study in the Processes of International Administration. By Charles S. Ascher. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. ix, 84 pp. \$2.50.

Natural Resources

Administration of Natural Resources. A Selected List of References. Knoxville, Tennessee Valley Authority, Technical Library, 1951. 16 pp.

Planning

A Selected Bibliography on City and Regional Planning. By Samuel Spielvogel. Washington 7, D. C., The Scarecrow Press, 1951. 276 pp. \$5.50.

Public Employment

State Employment in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 12 pp.

Short Ballot

Your Undemocratic Long Ballot. A speech on the need for short ballot reform in Cuyahoga County. By Richard S. Childs. Cleveland 15, The Citizens League, 1951. 13 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Governmental Revenue in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 12 pp.

1951 Conference Issue. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, August 1951. 68 pp. 50 cents.

State Tax Collections in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Com-

merce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 10 pp.

Urban Land Use and Property Taxation. A Preliminary Report. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, July-August, 1951. 3 pp.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety October 1951. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for October: **Night Traffic Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Transportation

Transportation Policy. Adopted by the Membership of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Washington 6, D. C., The Chamber, Transportation and Communication Department, 1951. 19 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

City Development. Experience shows that the average city can best achieve it in small pieces with the aid of local capital and local enterprise. By Henry S. Churchill. New York, *Architectural Forum*, December 1950. 7 pp. illus.

Rebuilding a City. A Study of Redevelopment Problems in Los Angeles. By Robert E. Alexander and Drayton S. Bryant. Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1951. vii, 69 pp. \$1.

Start Now . . . A Community Development Program to Make Your Town and County More Prosperous. Louisville 2, Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, 1951. 32 pp.

PEOPLE WANT HOME RULE

(Continued from page 461)

unite with their brethren in the legislature to scuttle proposals for home rule or optional charter laws.

For example, a bill to enable the people of any third class city in Pennsylvania to substitute the

council-manager plan for the discredited commission plan now forced on them by law has been blocked year after year by local politicians. The bill extending a similar choice to all Illinois cities except Chicago was finally forced through the Illinois legislature this year but not with any blessing or assist from organized municipal officials. It was the *people*, aroused by crusading newspaper editors and civic leaders, organized by the State Chamber of Commerce and other civic groups, and served in the state capitol by a woman legislator who would not be denied and a forward looking governor.

The local politicians who oppose home rule do so out of fear: fear of change that might disturb their rest or racket, fear of the new opportunity it gives the people to get into the act and look into the obscure corners of municipal affairs, fear of losing the alibi for inaction or the opportunity for collusion afforded by the vague division of responsibility and authority between local and state politician officials.

The vote on the home rule and other amendments in Rhode Island is just one of many current evidences of a rising tide of determination on the part of the people to free themselves from the fetters imposed by faithless political agents. On eight questions submitted at once, the people of that state voted most decisively for three that were clearly in the direction of making voter control of government easier and more effective.¹

¹For a description of the amendments see the REVIEW, July 1951, page 360.

res for Rackets in Politics

was pointed out in the May
ONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW in an
trial, "What Can an Angry People
, many features of the League's
ram for responsible citizen-con-
ed state and local government are
et specific cures for basic causes of
fficial connivance with crime and
steering revealed by the Kefauver
mtee.

any of the sessions of the Cin-
cinnati Conference
will point to prac-
tical means for
combatting and de-
stroying politico-
criminal alliances.

The subject will
be given concen-
trated attention at a
major session Tues-
day afternoon, No-
vember 27, under
chairmanship of Dayton D. McKean,
of the Department of Government,
mouth College, former aide to
ernor Charles Edison of New Jersey
author of a well known book on
s Hague of Jersey City. The ses-
sion will bring together leaders of lo-
cal crime fighting groups like Virgil
erson, operating director of the
icago Crime Commission, as well as
leading local officials like Mayor
derson of Youngstown, Ohio, to dis-
cuss the present situation and what
communities have done and can do
to put it.

R. League Meeting Observe Election

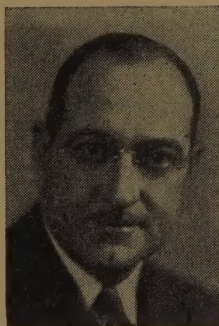
The annual meeting of the Pro-
portional Representation League will be
held Tuesday morning, November 27, in
conjunction with the National Confer-

ence on Government. An unusual fea-
ture will be a demonstration of a P. R.
election by the students of the Garfield
School, Cincinnati. Mayor Albert D.
Cash of Cincinnati will preside.

Coping with Disaster

Events of the last year have dra-
matically proved the importance of pre-
paredness on the part of local and
state governments to meet emergencies.
L. P. Cookingham, city manager of
Kansas City, Missouri, will speak on
"Organizing for Disaster" at the annual
dinner meeting Tuesday night. While
his talk will be based on the experience
of Kansas City in coping with the re-
cent flood, he will deal with the im-
portance of advance planning to pre-
pare for all kinds of disasters, in-
cluding those that might attend all-out
war.

Tuesday morning Professor Arthur
Bromage, of the University of Michi-
gan, who as city alderman organized
the Ann Arbor civil defense program,
will conduct a ses-
sion on the local
civil defense prob-
lem. There will be
reports on civil de-
fense programs
under way and an
examination of the
extent and limits of
effective local ac-
tion under existing
conditions of feder-
al direction and



L. P. Cookingham

participation. The relation between
civil defense and disaster defense
generally will be considered.

Gallup Heads All-American Jury

Eleven "All-American Cities of 1951" will be picked by a jury which will hold sessions at the Cincinnati Conference. George Gallup, director of the Institute of Public Opinion, will be foreman.

The certificate awarded to the cities that are selected is evidence of noteworthy progress made during the year as a result of intelligent citizen action. It is not based upon and does not represent the jury's views concerning the excellence of the governments of the cities chosen. The award may in fact go to a city with notoriously bad government if the year has been marked by evidence of intelligent and determined citizen action to improve conditions.

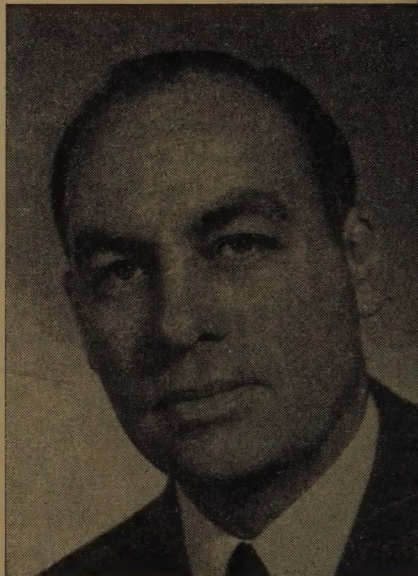
Any citizens who feel that their city is entitled to consideration by the 1951 jury are invited to write at once to the League office explaining the possible basis for a citation. Arrangements will be made for presenting the cases of qualified cities to the jury orally or in writing. Some will be scheduled for personal presentation at the public meeting on the afternoon of November 26.

Everybody Invited

Every citizen interested in good government is cordially invited to attend the whole conference or any of its sessions. All sessions are open to the public.

The conference registration desk will be open first thing Monday morning, November 26. Be sure to register as soon as possible. There is no charge.

Preliminary conference programs will be mailed to League members as soon as they are available and to anyone else on request.



GEORGE H. GALLUP
Jury Foreman

People who wish accommodations the conference hotel should write to the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, as promptly as possible, be sure to say that they are attending the National Conference on Government. A certain number of rooms have been set aside for people attending the conference.

* * *

Persons who arrive on Sunday are cordially invited by the Local Arrangements and Sponsoring Committee to join in a tour of the city. Cars will be available at 3:30 P.M. at the Netherland Plaza Hotel. The tour will end with tea at the Taft Museum 5 to 7 P.M. Those wishing to accept this invitation should notify the office of the League of Women Voters of Cincinnati, 1 Metropole Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.